

**Ecologies of difference: opportunities from encounters with wind turbines
in rural landscapes**

Greg Dash

There is a desert. Again, it wouldn't make any sense to say that I am *in* the desert. It's a panoramic vision of the desert, and it's not a tragic or uninhabited desert. It's only a desert because of its ocher colour and its blazing, shadowless sun. There is a teeming crowd in it, a swarm of bees, a rumble of soccer players, or a group of Tuareg. *I am on the edge of the crowd, at the periphery; but I belong to it, I am attached to it by one of my extremities, a hand or foot.* I know that the periphery is the only place I can be, that I would die if I let myself be drawn into the center of the fray, but just as certainly if I let go of the crowd. This is not an easy position to stay in, it is even very difficult to hold, for these beings are in constant motion and their movements are unpredictable and follow no rhythm. They swirl, go north, then suddenly east; none of the individuals in the crowd remains in the same place in relation to the others. So I too am in perpetual motion; all this demands a high level of tension, but it gives me a feeling of violent, almost vertiginous, happiness.

An imagined dream of Franny Glass from JD Salinger's "Franny and Zooey",
in Deleuze and Guattari, "1914: One or Several Wolves?"

From *A Thousand Plateaus*, 1988, pg.32 (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004b)

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Glossary of terms

Actual	A term used by Deleuze to refer to the state of becoming in divergent actualisation. A state where 'virtual' bodies are given identity.
Affect	A pre-personal moment for bodies that implies an increase or decrease in the capacity for them to act
Assemblage	A temporal and spatial formation of bodies that has a multiplicity of orientations both in and outside of itself. An assemblage can both draw new bodies into its formation, and expel others to form new orientations.
Attraction	A place visited by tourists for it's inherent or exhibited natural or cultural value, historical significance, natural or built beauty, leisure facilities, adventure and amusement.
Becoming	A process of change, flight, or movement within an assemblage. Becoming is not a start, interim or end point - but is rather the process to account for the changes in value as bodies within an assemblage form new relationships with no end goal or end state.
Body	A relation of parts, actions and reactions to other bodies. A body exists when a number of parts, actions or reactions enter into a characteristic relationship that defines it.
Crystallisation	A research methodology that draws together different epistemologies and research approaches within a text or across multiple texts, building a rich account of a phenomena that problematises its own construction
Deleuze	Gilles Deleuze was a French philosopher who, from the early 1960s until his death, wrote on philosophy, literature, film, and fine art. He collaborated on a number of key texts with psychoanalyst Felix Guattari.
Desiring-machine	The site of production
Destination	A concept used to refer to a defined space within which amenities are available to facilitate and accommodate the visit of Tourists.
Deterritorialisation	Any process that decontextualises a set of relations or bodies, rendering them virtual and preparing them for more distant actualisations
Difference	Deleuze proposes that Difference (and repetition) is metaphysically and logically prior to any form of representation. Difference is understood either as 'difference from the same' or difference of the same over time.
Discourse	Ways of constituting knowledge, along with social practices and power relations that are present within in such knowledges.
Gaze	This thesis utilises a number of definitions of Gaze. See <i>tourist gaze</i> for the use of the term as per the tourism literature. Gaze is also utilises more broadly to refer to the power dynamic between the Tourist and the spaces within which he or she travels through. I also briefly adopt the term Gaze following Lacan, to refer to the state where one becomes 'viewed' or realises their own limitations.
Genre	Groups of research discourses which share substantive, stylistic, and situational characteristics. Each genre forms a body of data that can

	be compared and contrasted with a method of crystallisation.
Lacan	Jacques Lacan, was a 20th Century French psychoanalyst and psychiatrist, who developed a new system of thought through a re-reading of Freud
Line of flight	The moment where change occurs, where a trajectory is initiated between two distinct paradigms
More-than-representational Theory	An approach that moves away from understanding merely outcomes of phenomena - to understanding the processes, performances and embodied experiences involved in social practice. Also known as 'non-representational theory'.
NIMBYism	A description for some objections to renewable energy developments based on the proximity to an individual's home (Not-in-my-back-yard-ism)
Post-Structuralism	20th century movement within philosophy that sought to destabilise meaning and concepts within structuralism.
Post-Tourist	The postmodern tourist eschewing authenticity and Gazing with an ironic distance.
Reflecivity	An analysis of how a person's values, beliefs, and interests influence the research or work that they do
Reterritorialisation	The restructuring of a set of relations or bodies that have previously undergone deterritorialisation
Revolutionary becomings	Becomings that result in transformative change a single body or system
Rhizome	Also called a multiplicity. This is a concept used to refer to the capacity for multiple potentials
Serendipity	The act of finding interesting or valuable things by chance
Space	The three dimensional extent within which bodies move and act
TAN 8	Technical Advice Notice 8, a key document providing guidance on land use planning in relation to renewable energy in Wales.
The Second Gaze	Proposed by MacCannell, 2001; this is a conception of the Tourist Gaze that is unsatisfied with what it sees and searches for a more authentic scene to Gaze on.
Tourist Gaze	An understanding of how the tourist behaves due to the regulation of the culture
Tourists	A person who travels, a desiring-machine
Virtual	Virtual is not opposed to 'real' (as in virtual reality); but rather is opposed to <i>actual</i> . Virtual is not pre-actual, but is the differential that allow for the formation of the Actual.
X-thing	Undefined bodies or ideas that offer the possibility for a line of flight

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List of Acronyms

BWEA	British Wind Energy Association
CCW	Countryside Council for Wales
CV	Contingent Valuation
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EC	European Commission
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FRE	Framework for Research Ethics
FTE	Full-time equivalent
GIS	Geographical information system
GPS	Global Positioning System
IEA	International Energy Agency
KESS	Knowledge Exchange Skills Scholarship
MORI	Market and Opinion Research international
NFFO	Non Fossil Fuel Obligation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIMBY	Not in my backyard
SSA	Strategic Search Areas
TAN 8	Technical Advice Notice 8
TIC	Tourist Information Centre
TPMW	Tourism Partnership Mid Wales
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WAG	Welsh Assembly Government
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WG	Welsh Government
WTP	Willingness to Pay

Introduction

This project attempts to provoke tourist interactions with wind energy in an attempt to try to reveal new possibilities in these encounters. Just as in the description of 'Franny's dream' in the quote on the previous page (from Deleuze and Guattari, 1988), I hope to explore the tensions that emerge from provoking these interactions. This project attempts to take 'snapshots' as bodies move and form new connections, and in these instances explore the opportunities that may emerge for dynamic perceptions of the self and the wider world. In considering this relationship, I hope to begin to rethink ecology outside of the dominant academic discourses within tourism theory and science communication.

To do this I examine the potential that may emerge as a result of shared competencies between the tourism and renewable energy sector. Within the region of Mid Wales, the site of the current study, tourism represents an economically important and well-established sector, and there is a growing interest in the potential for large-scale renewables developments under proposed government plans. In response to this, there has been an increased interest in exploring both the impacts of these proposed developments, and the opportunities that may emerge to develop a visitor attraction based on the technology. Within the remit of the current project, funding partners required that these areas be addressed and so this is considered within the wider project that seeks to explore outcomes associated with an emancipatory political project.

To begin with it is useful to provide a definition of what is intended by the term 'renewable energy'. This is provided within a key government document on the issue, Technical Advice Notice 8 (TAN 8), as the term used to cover "energy flows that occur naturally and repeatedly in the environment" and "includes all energy derived from the sun (solar, wind, tidal, wave, hydro and biomass) and geothermal sources" (WAG, 2005, pg. 66). Wales currently hosts a number of renewable energy projects and some rural areas have a history of small-scale generation under community-operated or owned projects. However, despite the

long industrial tradition of Wales, proposed wind energy developments have been consistently met with public protest. In 2005, this document (TAN 8) attempted to address concerns about wind farm developments in Wales, but instead played a key role in the launching of protest groups that have campaigned over the proceeding decade. The document attempted to reduce the proliferation of wind turbines throughout Wales, by commissioning consultancy service, ARUP, to identify specific areas (Strategic Search Areas or SSA's) that would be best suited for concentrated wind farm development. Seven areas were identified and coded A-G with each area given a target capacity of the site, suggesting a total capacity of 1.12GW within Wales. A fair amount of this capacity would be provided through proposed developments at the three SSAs within Mid Wales, SSA site B: 290MW, C: 70MW, and D: 140MW. Rather than alleviating concerns, local residents responded with concern that projects will be of greater size than the capacity suggested through TAN 8, and worries that Mid Wales would be left to bear the burden for energy needs in the Southern areas of the Country and for neighboring countries. As an area highly dependent on tourism, concerns have also been raised on the potential impacts these developments may have on the destination image of the region, which is considered to be highly dependent on the visual qualities of its landscapes.

The most recent research published by the Welsh Government has suggested that wind turbines may have a 'limited' impact on the nations tourism industry. Undertaken by planning consultancy Regeneris and The Tourism Company (2014), the study drew on both secondary and primary data, finding that; "although there was some anecdotal evidence of visitors staying away due to wind farms, the vast majority of consultees believed there had been no impact on total visitor numbers and hence on the visitor economies as a whole." (p. 2) This finding is supported widely in the literature (Riddington *et al.*, 2008; Riddington *et al.*, 2010; Campey *et al.*, 2003; Lilley *et al.*, 2010; Kuehn, 2005; Dalton *et al.*, 2008, etc.) with the evidence base that oppose this finding limited to a 2002 survey in Scotland (NFO System Three, 2002), a Western Isles Tourist Board survey (TMS, 2005) and a small 'survey' conducted by a tourism business, reported in Strachan and Lal (2004). Despite the body of literature supporting

this recent finding, the results were both publically rejected (as an unreliable piece of research) and supported (as evidence against turbine developments) by the anti-turbine agenda, and turbine developments remain a contentious issue.

Of greater interest to the current project is the potential impact of wind energy developments on tourists themselves, exploring both the potential positive and negative impacts and opportunities that may occur within this interaction.

Thesis Design

I will now outline how this project attempts to answer this question through each of the project chapters. The rationale behind this design lies in the main concern to communicate the work to the reader in a way that is coherent, and to aggregate aspects of the work into sections that cover the more the theoretical and empirical sections of the project. As such, the text does not reflect the chronological order of the research. Throughout the project, data collection, literature review and analysis were an ongoing process. This section will now proceed to discuss the structure of thesis, explaining the content and aim of each chapter within the text.

The work begins by discussing the research that has already been conducted on this topic in the literature in chapter 1, alongside a discussion on the background to my own work in terms of the relevant tourist literature and local and national political background to the proposed wind project under investigation. I also aim to critically examine the way other researchers have attempted to research this topic, and so I employ a methodology that attempts to open up new creative opportunities within the academic literature, drawing on contemporary philosophical approaches and creative methodologies to encourage inclusivity. These concepts are also discussed in Chapter 1, where a methodology of *difference* is proposed. By using the term, '*difference*' this thesis seeks to allude to the project of Gilles Deleuze introduced in his published doctoral thesis *Difference and Repetition* (Deleuze, 1994). In this work Deleuze argues the importance of the forces of difference and repetition over representation and

identity. The text outlines the fundamental philosophical concepts that came to define Deleuze's work of disrupting and rethinking the way that we see the world, to open up new opportunities for creativity. These ideas return as part of a practical (as well as a philosophical) project in his collaborative projects with Felix Guattari that are drawn on specifically in Chapter 2.

The 'methodology of Difference' that is discussed in Chapter 2 draws on Ellingson's methodology of crystallisation. Through this approach, the boundaries between data genres are able to be distorted and the distinctions between art and science begin to blur. This approach also seeks to prevent the current work from privileging certain forms of knowledge that may exclude key stakeholders in this controversial topic. As required by this methodology, three phases of work are adopted (survey approach; conversations with walkers; and a theoretical study) in order to collect data from a wide range of approaches on the topic. These approaches are discussed in detail within Chapter 2.

Early fieldwork identified the significance of feelings of distrust and disillusionment towards both politics and renewable energy science in influencing the public discourse. In addition to producing a new piece of research, the current thesis represents my own journey in attempting to adopt a methodology that does not reproduce these conditions of distrust and disillusionment by adopting participant led approaches. This was at times a difficult process as I needed to simultaneously produce a coherent project that meets the requirements of my funding partners. In an attempt to do this, the project draws widely on various approaches including walking methodologies, feminist methodologies, and contemporary Deleuzian methodologies that have been recently introduced by researchers within sociology, media and performance departments (Colman *et al.*, 2013). The goals of such an approach are outlined in Colman's statement:

"A productive task for contemporary sociology [...] is to examine the actualisation of the virtual, that is to examine the ways in which intensive potential is actualised into concrete ways of living." (Colman, 2012, pg. 46)

Here the main task is suggested to be discovering ways that open up new opportunities or 'potentials', rather than unpacking the workings of a world external to the researcher. The 'productive' nature of such a task, is as such to open up new possibilities for emancipatory potential with sociology. The application of Deleuzian theory to sociology is explored and developed in Sections 3 and 4 of Chapter 1.

Preliminary research, including a site visit to an established wind turbine attraction in Scotland, is presented in Chapter 3. Initially the project drew on ethnographic research, attending community meetings and using these sessions to inform a survey and semi-structured interview. Here data collected during community meetings is presented, siting the current project within the local political discourse in Mid Wales. This data fed into a survey and semi-structured interview with visitors to three key sites in Mid Wales (a methodology discussed in Chapter 2). The results of this first study are presented in Chapter 4. Despite this approach offering useful data to the funding partner, it was deemed that through a less structured approach, greater input would be possible from the participants in the study. A number of ways of approaching the research question were piloted, before I adopted a methodology that required me to be stationed in front of a wind turbine development over a period of around 2-3 months through the summer of 2013. Here I met and observed some of the walkers that were visiting the area, and asked them to take part in a conversation as we looked over the wind turbine and explored some of their reactions to the development.

The data that I collected from this exercise was collected was diverse, complex and rich. Within Chapter 5, through an analysis grounded in Deleuzian theory, I seek to develop these responses within a framework that explored the reactions to the development within the terms of what they 'do'. Thus, rather than analyzing the messages within the responses of the participant and inferring meaning, I analyse the responses as they stand, exploring the emotions and expressions of participants as they are stated. These responses are not analysed

in terms of what they may mean or represent; but rather what they do - what emotions and responses they evoke. Although the current study maps these expressions onto a number of 'becomings' the aim of this section is not exclusively to provide a definitive list of responses that occur in the setting, but rather to begin to explore the potential for *difference* in the interaction with the turbine developments in Mid Wales – and some of the forms that this *difference* takes in the context of the current study. The study took particular interest in the more unusual responses, exploring the potential for the turbine to disrupt the usual and encourage thinking, feelings and actions that are not guided by the conventions of the tourist space. Within these disruptions I wish to explore opportunities for thinking about new ways of ecology, climate change and landscape, exploring the potential for a space to be opened for tourists to begin to consider global warming in new ways. Drawing on a theoretical approach from critical theory, I wish to explore the potential new critiques and approaches to current ecological challenges that lay outside of ideological driven discourses.

Chapter 6 seeks to bring together the strands of data collected throughout this project to discuss a number of themes that emerge. As explained within Chapter 2 on crystallisation, these themes emerge as a result of various orientations of the assemblages that formed throughout the study. These themes are not necessarily conclusions, but are rather ideas that emerge from a consideration of data collected. Indeed, the reader may disagree or find these themes unable to represent all of the themes that they consider representative of the text below. The proposal that this thesis makes is not intended to be definitive, but rather functions as an additional strand within the process of crystallisation that constructs the work. Indeed, rather than providing answers and solutions, this thesis seeks to provoke new questions and to explore the potential for new ways of conducting and thinking about research.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this project is to analyse the interaction between visitors and wind energy in tourism spaces. It does this to better understand these interactions and to consider the as of yet unknown potential that may be present within this interaction. This potential is understood as both in terms of developing a tourist attraction around wind energy, and more importantly as a potential for this interaction to function as a strategy to address the growing threat of global warming. In addition to this, the justification for this work is in its attempt to expand on the theoretical literature within tourism studies in terms of both new methodological and philosophical approaches.

In order to do this the thesis will assess the literature relating to renewable energy and the political/public discourses surrounding the technology, the study of tourism and visitor experience including a specific focus on tourism and wind energy. I will also consider how the interactions between wind energy and tourism can be measured, analysed and explored drawing on the literature on tourist Gaze, embodiment and more-than-representational theories of Landscape. Finally, drawing on both of these strands of enquiry I will explore the political potential within the tourism experience, drawing on ideas from contemporary critical and specifically ideas developed within the project initiated by Deleuze and Guattari. This thesis does not attempt to create generalisable results that can be applied to other locations and times in order to offer recommendations on the placement of wind energy developments. It does not attempt to provide advice to tourism planners when considering the location of their wind energy attractions. It does not even offer concrete recommendations for planners attempting to build a wind energy attraction that is able to offer some of the creative possibilities that I attempt to uncover within the text.

This thesis does not attempt to proscribe definitive solutions to the problems that it identifies, rather it hopes to begin a conversation by proposing a number of useful concepts that can be adopted by future researchers, creating further

questions and problems that in turn create new concepts for enquiry. It records interactions in the landscape with wind energy developments and scrutinises them to explore opportunities for encouraging new ways of thinking about wind energy technology, and where these progressive opportunities are annulled. It attempts to begin to build a toolkit for researchers, a cabinet of curiosities, upon which future researchers can draw.

This aim of the study is summarised within the following key objectives:

- To review the literature that may help to address this aim, drawing on case studies that utilise this interaction and on theoretical concepts that have been used to understand tourism.
- To provide both a theoretical and empirical account on how this potential within the interaction can be explored.
- To consider the most appropriate methodology that can be used to understand and explore the potential within this interaction.
- To exhibit and evaluate the implications of these findings.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Throughout Europe wind turbine developments are set to play a key role in helping to achieve renewable energy targets set by the Kyoto Protocol. In addition to meeting the need to meet government renewable targets; sustainable energy can offer economic benefits for both communities and developers and so continues to play an ever-increasing role in political discourse. Wind turbine developments are often located in rural areas that may be important tourism destinations, but as of yet, little research has studied the impact these developments may have on these areas. This initial chapter seeks to provide some background to these emerging issues through a discussion of the policy and political discourse, before discussing the ways in which previous researchers have attempted to address questions on the impact of wind energy on tourism. The chapter closes with a discussion on the theoretical approaches that are used to inform the approach taken in this project.

Section 1: Environmental policy and public opposition

Economics and Sustainable Energy Policy

To begin with, I wish to explore the discourses in environmental policy that have led to reliance on wind energy - and which have been argued to have played a key role in the fostering of public distrust. Despite renewable energy development often appearing to be driven by a conscience need to address the global threat of climate change, analysis of the historical construction of renewable policy suggests that economic ideology has featured prominently in the political discourse - and continues to play a key role in the production of renewable energy and sustainable development policy. Thus, for Mid Wales, an analysis of the impact on an economically important sector such as tourism is seen as additionally significant as it may have implications for future political considerations.

Renewable energy developments first emerged in the policy narrative in 1987. According to the International Energy Agency, renewable energies are defined as: “energy derived from natural processes (e.g. sunlight and wind) that are replenished at a faster rate than they are consumed. Solar, wind, geothermal, hydro, and some forms of biomass are common sources of renewable energy” (IEA, 2014). The publication of *Our Common Future* by the Brundtland Commission saw the first recognition that energy sources that fit this definition should be “given a higher priority in national energy programmes” as a means of “reducing damaging carbon-based emissions from large combustion plants” (WCED, 1987: 195). The report also featured the first real definition of sustainable development as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (WCED, 1987: 54). Here environmental sustainability is presented as being simultaneously possible alongside economic growth, with sustainable development offering an opportunity for every country to secure its resource base whilst protecting the potential for “further accumulation but within a green framework” (McMannus, 1996, p. 52). Renewable energy thus emerges as both an economically valuable and socially responsible opportunity. This was reiterated at the 1992 UN Earth Summit, and has continued to remain a feature in more recent policy (DEFRA, 1998; EC, 2001). Following the fuel crisis of the 1970s, scarcity emerged as a major feature of energy policy, and the potential for renewable energy to help alleviate concerns helped to maintain interest in the technology. The importance of economic sustainability remained central to the policy discourse during the 80’s and early 90’s despite a global movement towards environmentally sustainable development and global equity, with government policy continuing to encourage and focus on development that could provide secure and diverse energy supplies at competitive prices (DTI, 1998, 1994).

In order to establish a competitive market for sustainable energy technology, the Non Fossil Fuel Obligation (NFFO) was established under the Electricity Act 1989/1990 in the UK, financially supporting projects through a levy placed on electricity bills. Originally, the obligation was established to subsidise the

development of nuclear technologies (Mitchell, 1995; Surrey, 1996) but also encompassed other forms of technologically advanced renewable technologies. The act established a three-fold division of responsibility to achieve its aims:

- i) The secretary of state (The president of the board of trade) was responsible for making orders setting a Non Fossil Fuel Obligation (NFFO), and has a statutory duty to consult with the Regional Electricity Companies and the Director General of Electricity Supply.
- ii) The Regional Electricity Companies had a legal responsibility to make arrangements to comply with such orders.
- iii) The Regional Electricity Companies are obliged to forward details of these arrangements to the Director General, who is charged with the duty of considering if these companies have complied with the orders.

The market-led approach of the NFFO resulted in interest and investment that focused on technologies that were 'closest to becoming commercially competitive' (DTI, 1994); and as such led to a focus on mature renewable technology including wind and solar. In addition to this, the uncertainty associated with securing a NFFO contract meant that development became dominated by large businesses that could compete better than smaller businesses or community owned projects. This problem was exacerbated after pressure from the conservative lobby created further distance between the planning and NFFO application process under the third programme (NFFO 3). It has been suggested that these circumstances contributed to the hostility often shown by host communities towards new developments (Mallon, 2006).

The approach in the UK differs from that seen elsewhere in Europe. In Denmark for example, local ownership is an important aspect of development and is encouraged with tax relief. The value in encouraging community support is well known – and has been shown to often mean the difference between acceptance or rejection of a planning application (Toke, 2002). In the UK, the lack of

community involvement offers little to communities that may be potentially affected or may perceive themselves to be potentially affected by wind turbines. By requiring companies to take a macroeconomic view, and consider social or environment factors of less importance when selecting a site for development, it has been argued that the NFFO ensured that local and regional concerns were excluded from decision-making and helping to fuel the conflict surrounding developments (McKenzie-Hedger, 1995). These conflicts are often based on an apparent tension between the global positive impact (reduction of greenhouse gas emissions), against the negative local impact (either aesthetic or economic); often leading to a loss in the political discourse of the holistic potential for sustainable development.

In response to the greater focus on climate change in EU policy (EC, 1998, 2001, 2002); more focus was placed on economic and social issues of environmental development in the policy narrative towards the end of the 1990s and early 2000s. During these years, three reports were published by the UK authorities identifying the potential for renewable sources to provide energy generation alongside a carbon mitigation strategy (DTI, 1994, 1999, 2000). In contrast to previous efforts, sustainable development is presented within these reports alongside with social, environmental and economic issues at its core. Mitchell and Conner (2004) identified a renewed optimism for renewables in 1997 when Minister of Energy, John Battle set a commitment to supply 5% of Renewable Energy generation by 2003, and 10% by 2010 (DTI, 1999). However, despite this optimism for a more holistic approach, economics remained central to guiding policy development. In 1999, Battle said: “sustainability should not be seen as a barrier or burden to business. Rather it is economic common sense. Renewable sources of energy are an essential element of a cost-effective climate change programme”. ‘Cost-effective’ climate change mitigation still prevailed as a dominant narrative, and sustainable development continued to remain steeped in economic discourse.

Since the early 90s, wind energy developments have been considered to be a key feature in enabling the UK to meet its renewable energy targets. Wind energy is

seen as 'the most proven green source of electricity generation' (DTI, 1999). The first order NFFO was made in 1990 with a target of 238MW, of which 28MW was from wind energy (11.8%). The second in 1991, targeted a total of 473MW of which 84MW (17.8%) was from wind. The third in 1994 indicated a target for a total capacity of 626.92MW of which 164MW (26.4%). Despite these targets and reportedly having the best wind resource in Europe, renewable sources accounted for less than 1% of all UK primary energy production and around only 2% of electricity supply in 1992. This figure still remained substantially low at 3% by 2000, compared to the average of 16% in other EU nations (National Statistics, 2003). Lack of planning organisation has been blamed for this low uptake, along with community opposition to developments that emerge as a product of hierarchical top down planning policy (Warren *et al.*, 2005). Opposition was felt to be "emerging as a result of the 'lack of positive benefits of projects for local communities" and a lack of concern for "environmental and social impacts of project design" (Walker, 1995: 57).

During the early 1990's a reluctant from the government created planning battles over individual schemes. Often these appeared to observers to become a "media fuelled showdown between developers and opposition groups" (Warren *et al.*, 2005: 859) and a lack of clear policy guidance led many local authorities unable to make decisions on larger sites. The Secretary of State, following public inquiry, eventually was forced to rule on these larger sites. This process further distanced local communities from the decision making process leaving many to feel that these developments were out of their hands and in the hands of multi-national developers and government departments. Bruton and Nicholson (1987) criticise this approach to planning, adding that whilst regional guidance should contain detailed interpretations of policy, they should be developed by regional authorities who are best placed to understand regional circumstances. By the end of 2000, only 25% of projects with NFFO contracts in England and Wales had become live (DTI, 2001). Renewables were estimated to have achieved production of 3% of energy supplied at this time but only around half of this target was reached with Wind only representing 0.25% of UK electricity in 2001 (Toke, 2002). Of all renewable technologies, only wind power experienced

significant rejection at the planning stage – of the 18 schemes that were considered at local inquiries, only two were successful during the 1994-98 period (RCEP, 2000). Reasons for this rejection were consistent: landscape issues, requirements of the Ministry of Defense, and high profile (although often made up of a minority of residents) local opposition. The renewables obligation in 2001 (DTI, 2000a) attempted to address these issues. It reversed the rules of the NFFO, putting the obligation on the suppliers to source an increasing proportion of their electricity from renewable sources to achieve the target of 10% of renewables generation by 2010 (Mitchell and Conner, 2004). Payments were made for achieving supply targets, in contrast to the payments made for specific projects in the NFFO. This approach did not appear to solve the problem, and data has shown a decreasing number of MW provided to the national grid each year from new renewable energy schemes (Land Use Consultants, 2004). Despite this, and the prominence placed on carbon reduction in more recent years, market led approaches and financial concerns have continued to top the agenda:

“As we have set out, our aim for renewables is that they should supply 10% of UK electricity in 2010, as long as the cost to customers is acceptable” (DTI, 2003 Section 4.11)

Arguably, it is these strategies that have continued to alienate communities and small businesses from the potential offered from developing renewable energy solutions. The £10 million fund for community development is overshadowed by the £6 billion attributed to the meeting of targets by multinational companies through the Renewables Obligation (Toke, 2005).

Despite this ominous outlook, in 2004, there was an emergence of support campaigns for the sustainable energy opportunities of wind power from grassroots campaigns and lobbying bodies. The Sustainable Development Commission's, 'Wind power in the UK' (2004) aimed to dispel some of the myths and put forward a case for wind power as a temporary solution to carbon emissions reduction (Sustainable Development Commission, 2004). Other

campaigns were also established such as Greenpeace's Yes to Wind, and Embrace the Revolution from BWEA. Although there has been a greater focus on the environmental benefits rather than merely the economic benefits of these developments, issues at a local level are still emerging. There are still struggles implementing government policy and public distrust is still high.

Conflict and Public opposition

The political discourse of renewable energy development has been considered to be a contributing factor to the emergence of public opposition towards wind energy. Lack in clear planning policy has resulted in a process that often excludes communities from planning applications (Warren *et al* 2005), and a market led approach has made it difficult for smaller businesses and community projects to compete with large multinational companies. In response to the opposition that has often emerged, developers appoint community liaison officers but these too are limited in their application of a deficit model to their approach of engagement and thus run the risk of further alienating local residents. This approach is based on a strategy whereby an assumed 'deficit' in public knowledge and understanding is blamed for lack of public support (Dickson 2005). In addition to helping to contribute towards public distrust in its rearticulation of some of the conditions that initially created the problems, this approach fails to take advantage of the local expertise members of the public can offer development.

In addition to the aforementioned policy vacuum of the 1990s, problems were also present within the limited guidelines that were provided. Despite initial planning guidelines focusing on wind farm developments (a point that itself has been subject to criticism from Cooper, 1998; and Hull, 1995), disapproval has been expressed for the guidelines avoiding "the controversial issues of the reconciliation of development interests with the importance of conserving the environment to ensure that environmental damage is minimised" (Hull, 1995: 9). Weak national planning guidance opened up a policy vacuum that allowed NGO's

and quangos such as the Countryside Council for Wales (CCW) and the Welsh tourist board to develop policy documents reflecting their own agenda. CCW considered wind farms to be new, largely inappropriate industrial developments in the countryside, exemplified in the title of their policy document '*Wind Turbine Power Stations*' (Countryside Council for Wales, 1992). In a 1998 policy document CCW state, "it is clear that commercial wind turbine developments have the potential to be highly intrusive in the landscape". Woods (2003) has described CCW's view as representing "a rare surviving example of nature as wilderness" (Woods, 2003: 280), a view also seen by the Council for the Protection of Rural Wales (CPRW) who have noted that turbines present a "pervasive threat to heartland landscapes" (CPRW, 2000). At a national conference on wind energy one CPRW officer asked: 'is the modest increase in energy supply from upland wind turbines worth the "taming of wild Britain"?' (Williams, 1999 via Stevenson, 2009).

This focus on landscape conservation has had negative impact on discussions of the technology, as the holistic potential offered by the development is often not explored. Landscape conservation becomes forced into the foreground, whilst global issues generally provide only emerge as an after thought in local battles (Hull, 1995). Woods (2003) highlights the Cefn Croes Wind Farm Campaign where landscape and local economic discourse sidelined the global climate change issue and the need for responsible carbon mitigation action. Ereaunt and Segnit (2006) argue that during the early years of the Assembly, a lack of sustainable energy policy from the UK government and the inability of the public to accept the 'doom and gloom' message of climate change resulted in a situation whereby developers and wind energy supporters were unable to effectively use the threat of global climate change in Wales to argue the need for alternative energy approaches. This suggestion that the public had an 'inability' to accept the full message of climate change is in itself problematic. It has been noted that far from being passive vessels to be filled with more or better information, members of the public are active in weighing up the usefulness and relevance of scientific information. They are able to assimilate even very complex scientific information if they can see practical gains in doing so, and conversely may choose to ignore

information if they do not trust those who are giving it or see no advantage in understanding it (Burningham, 2000). Thus the responsibility is not on the ability of the member of the public, but on the communicator to present important information in a way that is accessible and will be considered trustworthy. Not in my backyard or NIMBYism has often surrounded debates over wind-farms placement. The NIMBY theory (Marks & Von Winterfeld, 1984; Thayer & Hansen, 1988) assumes people do not want wind turbines constructed in their place of their residence but do not mind them being placed anywhere else. Wolsink (2000), declares NIMBYism a myth, suggesting those with these feelings were not in favour of wind power at all. Lake (1993) also offers an interesting critique from a neo-Marxist perspective, in which the idea of 'public goods' is argued to be problematic. To Lake, this concept comes into dispute as the projects themselves appear as structurally constrained political solutions to economic problems that privilege the needs of capital. This argument appears ever more valid considering the previous note on market led approach taken by the UK Government, and the subservient role sustainable development appears to have to economic growth in government energy policy.

In Wales, the role of nationalism in public discourse adds a further dimension to anti-wind farm campaigns. Following the Government of Wales Act, 1998; post devolution policy and promotion tried to focus on the uniqueness of Wales and the 'back to the land tendency' of Welsh culture (Gruffudd, 1994). The former has strong links to Welsh identity; Moses Gruffydd, Plaid Cymru's chief agricultural adviser quoted in Gruffudd (1994), said: "Placing the people back on the land is not only appropriate, but is essential if the Welsh nation is to live. The Welsh nation is a nation with its roots in the country and the soil." We see the strength of nationalism in wind farm campaigns demonstrated in the logo of the Cefn Croes Wind Farm Campaign - here a dragon is seen to saw a wind turbine in half. There may be a fear that Welsh rural communities will have to suffer for the benefit of those in the cities to the South of the country or the large cities in England. This has been the case historically; in 1960 the village of Capel Celyn was flooded to build the Llyn Celyn reservoir in Gwynedd, North Wales in order to supply Liverpool and parts of the Wirral with water.

Figure 1, Cefn Croes Wind Farm Campaign Logo



The controversial move saw an increase in support for Plaid Cymru in following years and public protest at the opening ceremony where people held placards reading 'hand's off Wales' (BBC, 2005). It was only in 2005 that Liverpool Council issued an apology:

"The Council acknowledges its debt to the many thousands of Welsh people who have made their homes in the City. They have, in so many ways, enriched the life of the City. We know that Liverpool, especially in the fields of medicine and education, has been of real service to the people of Wales. We realise the hurt of forty years ago when the Tryweryn Valley was transformed into a reservoir to help meet the water needs of Liverpool. For any insensitivity by our predecessor Council at that time, we apologise and hope that the historic and sound relationship between Liverpool and Wales can be completely restored."

Despite this bleak outlook for support for future developments, there has been growing evidence to suggest that the threat of global warming is becoming more widely accepted (Szarka, 2004: 326), particularly since the 2003 white paper. This does create the potential for greater public acceptance for wind energy, but greater effort is needed to realise the holistic potential for sustainable development projects through greater community dialogue rather than engagement, and community ownership programmes (Dash, 2012).

Ceredigion and Renewable Energy

The research undertaken in the current project is based in the convergence area of Ceredigion in order to comply with the requirements of the funding of the project. Funded by a Knowledge Exchange Skills Scholarship (KESS), the work was required to work alongside a partner (in this case Tourist Partnership Mid-Wales) to explore issues that are relevant to their operations. As such, the following section will explain some of the key features of the site of research.

Ceredigion is made up of the principal towns of Aberystwyth, Aberaeron, Cardigan and Lampeter; which account for 39% of the total population. The county neighbours Gwynedd to the North, Powys to the east and Camarthenshire and Pembrokeshire to the south. Landscape covers 1,795 sq. km, stretching from the southern banks of the Dyfi in the north to the Teifi estuary in the South. Ceredigion is enclosed by the high hills of the Plynlimon mountain range, which extends to over 610 metres above sea level. To the east, the Cambrian Mountains separate the county from its bordering counties. In 1965, a process was started to designate a Cambrian Mountains National Park. This ultimately failed in 1973, but recent effort from the Cambrian Mountains Society has continued to apply for Area of Outstanding National Beauty protection. Ceredigion's topological landscape offers a suitable location for the development of wind farm projects. The valleys tend to canalise surface winds and accentuate their speed due to funnel effects. As availability of energy is related to wind speed by a factor of three, a 10% increase in wind speed can yield 30% more energy providing a greater incentive to consider environmental conditions when choosing site locations. Wales has a long history of research in the renewable energy potential of the country. The former county of Dyfed (the county within which the present day Ceredigion is situated) was considered to have the potential to alone produce at least ten times it's own requirements (Taylor and Rand, 1991). This figure must be considered within the context of the political and public attitudes of its time and present day research has suggested that further issues and impacts may arise from developments so estimates would likely be considerably less. Nevertheless, research by Taylor and Larke (1991), has identified the

potential within Ceredigion for renewable energy generation from all natural sources excluding geothermal energy, with wind, bio-fuels and small scale hydro power identified as the most economical options. However, they emphasise that such developments should only be adopted when suitable for the local economy, environment and the community.

Early renewable developments such as the Mynydd Y Cemmaes wind farm (1992) and Llandinum P and L (1992) were set up by small welsh companies (the former is now part of national wind power), however the market led approach of the NFFO resulted in later domination by larger companies. When combined with a lack of strategic planning guidance, a culture of conflict and distrust emerged as the public faced uncertainty on who to trust on environmental developments. The now controversial document, TAN 8 was initially intended to address these concerns through clearer planning policy. The document was rewrite of an initial 1999 draft with a group of stakeholders within the renewable energy sector (including local governments, public agencies, NGO's and the private sector). Following a three-month consultation period, the final document was released in 2005, along with an updated Planning Policy Wales that shifts emphasis where renewable energy projects were promoted – “renewable energy projects should generally be supported by local planning authorises provided environmental impacts are avoided or minimised, and nationally and internationally designated areas are not compromised” (WAG, 2005: 2). The document also represents a shift in approach to developments, highlighting the need for a few large-scale wind farms in order to meet national targets. Strategic Search Areas were designated for this task, with new emphasis on the need to assess environmental impact. TAN 8 attempted to resolve conflict at a strategic level, engaging with a number of stakeholders and reducing the need for costly public engagement exercises through a combination of scientific (rational) and Habermasian (consensual) methods of policy making. Yet, problems that have encouraged the development of public conflict continue to be reproduced. Within the document, little information is presented to local planners that could allow them to weigh up the global impact against the local impact and instead they are just told to: “consider the local availability of

renewable energy resources and develop suitable policies that promote their implementation” (WAG, 2005, p. 12). TAN 8 has been met with major criticism from both the public and invested private stakeholders, who feel they were not appropriately consulted during the construction of the document. These concerns have led to continuing public protest and debate over proposed projects, and increasing delays and postponements for some of the projects that were due to be constructed in key Strategic Search Areas.

The current study seeks to specifically explore emerging issues that surround the proposed (albeit now postponed) development at Nant Y Moch. In 2011 when this research project began, a large-scale wind turbine development containing over 60 turbines was set to be developed by SSE Renewables within SSA D, between Talybont and the Nant Y Moch reservoir. The development would have been built on both privately owned agricultural grazing land and land under management by the Forestry Commission Wales (now Natural Resources Wales, which also includes the former CCW). The project was met with public protests backed by CCW, who also held an exhibition held within the town centre of Aberystwyth. Major objections to the development emerged from the perceived impact on the landscape and the potential impacts caused during the construction phase on the weak transport networks in Mid Wales. Similar objections were raised to the proposed wind farm at SSA site C in Powys. In 2013, the project was postponed following events in Powys, where the Planning Authority refused applications for five wind farms and a new 132kv power line. As the proposed development in Nant Y Moch also relied on this power line, SSE announced that they were refusing to make further significant investment until the projects in Powys were met with greater support. These five wind farms in Powys were objected by the council due to perceived landscape and visual impacts, the potential impacts on tourism and the lack of transport infrastructure to support the development and are currently part of a long-standing on-going public consultation.

Section 2: Tourism and Renewable Energy

As renewable energy takes on a greater prominence in the political discourse and as the threat of global climate change grows ever closer; the need to consider the relationship between renewable technology and the tourism sector gains greater importance. This is of particular significance within Ceredigion, where the tourism sector is the second largest contributor to the economy, supporting over 4500 FTE jobs (calculated via the Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Model). Already I have demonstrated that reliance on the market led approaches to drive renewable energy technology production, suggesting that any potential negative impact on the tourism economy for the region may make developing a renewable energy project less viable. Additionally, if such a project were to go ahead any negative impact on the tourism sector could have adverse consequences for the sector as a whole. Exploring this impact on tourism thus emerges of key importance and interest led by the need for a consideration of sustainability – both economically and environmentally.

The study of Tourism

Tourism represents both an economically and socially important phenomenon. In 2013, travel and tourism's total contribution stood at 9.5% of global GDP, not only showing greater growth than the wider economy, but also growing faster than other significant sectors such as financial and business services, transport and manufacturing (WTTC, 2014). This represents almost 266 million jobs - one in eleven of all jobs in the world. More than ever it is clear that 'tourism is not a peripheral aspect of local, national or global economy and society' (Shaw and Williams, 1994, p. 9), and instead is of critical importance to the operation of all of these features within a sustainable economy. There is often a failure of state institutions to recognise this importance, and thus the sector often faces threats during periods of financial uncertainty. Indeed, it has also been noted that this same insecurity is mirrored in the work of tourism academics themselves, who

often feel that their work is of less importance than their colleagues in business and geography departments. Despite this, tourism represents an important area of study as a site of social exploration and experimentation – where roles and norms are performed and potentially transgressed.

“Tourism is no longer a specialist consumer product or mode of consumption: tourism has broken away from its beginnings as a relatively minor and ephemeral ritual of modern national life to become a significant modality through which transitional modern life is organised.” (Franklin and Crang, 2001, p. 7)

In their reaffirmation of the site of vacation as a ‘cultural laboratory’ (Löfgren, 1999), Franklin and Crang suggest that tourism researchers need to move beyond justifications that rely on the economic importance of the industry and instead focus on the potential within tourism to explore new aspects of identity, social relations and interactions with nature and the environment. As a main feature of the current research the potential of new possibilities for perceptions of nature and the environment is of key interest, especially considering the increasing urgency with which we need to respond to the growing threat of global warming.

Current study within tourism on these key issues has in part emerged in response to the growing interest of consumers in ‘ecotourism’. This a form of tourism suggested by Blamey (1997, 2001) that is made up of three key features: attractions that are predominantly nature-based, visitor interactions focused on learning and education and experience; and product management following principles associated with ecological, socio-cultural and economic sustainability. A contemporary definition is provided by The International Ecotourism Society as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education" (TIES, 2015). The degree of interpretation that can be applied to Blamey’s criteria led Weaver (2005) to suggest both a ‘minimalist’ and ‘comprehensive’ form of ecotourism. Minimalist approaches favour more superficial learning

activities, whilst comprehensive approaches aim to foster deeper understanding and engagement. Other work has challenged these definitions, arguing for the ecotourism potential in activities that would otherwise be considered unsustainable or at-times exploitative of the environment (e.g., recreational angling as ecotourism: Holland, Ditton and Graefe (1998) and Zwirn, Pinsky and Rahr (2005); trophy hunting as ecotourism: Novelli, Barnes and Humavindu (2006); and zoos as ecotourism: Ryan and Saward (2004)). One of the most extensively studied areas of the effects of ecotourism has sought to analyse the impacts of tourists on wildlife. Work has included study on a range of species including yellow-eyed penguins (McClung et al., 2004), hoatzins (Müllner, Linsenmair & Wikelski, 2004), bottlenose dolphins (Constantine, Brunton & Dennis, 2004), and woodland caribou (Duchesne, Côté & Barrette, 2000).

Despite the importance of research on impacts and relationships between tourism and the environment, Weaver and Lawton (2007) note that very little work has been undertaken by tourism specialists or appears within the tourism literature. Rodger and Moore (2004) address this discrepancy in explaining the difference between the goals of scientists and ecotourism site managers (the latter focused on more business orientated outcomes) and how research is traditionally funded within these disciplines. Responding to this, Weaver and Lawton (2007) highlight the body of work that has focused on providing guidelines for improving service-oriented business strategies and evaluating/developing performance outcomes, such as that undertaken on market segmentation (e.g. Eagles & Cascagnette, 1995; Wight, 1996, 2001; Eubanks, *et al.*, 2004) and management (e.g. Dickey and Higham, 2005; Parker and Khare, 2005; Silva and McDill, 2004).

Within the focus of the current project, a similar observation can be made on the current research on wind energy and tourism. As the majority of this work has been conducted by independent research organisations (outside of academia) and has been undertaken in partnership with government bodies or NGO's; there is a greater focus on producing clear guidelines and recommendations that are

applicable within the current political and economic discourse, rather than more exploratory and interpretative research.

Visitor Experience

In the current project, I examine and discuss some of the motivations and reflections from visitors to Mid Wales in the presence of wind turbines. It is thus worth exploring some of the current literature on visitor experience. As I note on the previous page, much tourism research has been focused on providing guidance for tourism managers and thus fails to move beyond exploring frameworks for effectively managing visitor experience. Such work is likely to be categorised as Destination Management. This view of 'visitor experience' could be likened to that explored within 'product development' within other industries, where the product is a unique, enriching and memorable experience. One important aspect of this 'product development' involves the creation and management of destination image. Indeed, we define the destination as "a geographical region, political jurisdiction, or major attraction, which seeks to provide visitors with a range of satisfying to memorable visitation experiences." (Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan, 2009, page 572). As these regions or jurisdictions do not often conform to the same boundaries that separate regions on a map, it is often better to classify the places that are destinations as those which provide the experiences that tourists are looking for - collected together under a single umbrella destination image. Large metropolitan cities offering a broad range of exciting visitation experiences within their boundaries, can be as competitive in their appeal as many destinations that are much larger in geographic terms. Some major attractions (such as DisneyWorld in the USA, the Palace of Versailles in France, the Inca ruins of Machu Picchu in Peru, the Hermitage Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, Russia—and a number of other attractions of renown), may by themselves provide such substantial, unique, or significant visitation experiences that they can be considered to be a "destination" in their own right.

Unlike product development in other industries, tourism relies on the participation of numerous stakeholders in order to function - namely indigenous

people, businesses and investors, tourists, tour operators and intermediaries, and interest groups. Managing stakeholders' interests which are often conflicting makes controlling and marketing destinations as a whole extremely challenging. One key problem is ensuring the rational use of zero-priced public goods, such as landscapes, mountains, and the sea for the benefit of all stakeholders whilst at the same time preserving the resources for future generations. The study of conservation and tourism is a well researched and robust field. Conflicts can easily develop between stakeholders, especially when some may see greater advantages in emphasising short-term benefits. A compromise encompassing all these interests is extremely difficult if not impossible, but is the key to long term success.

And yet tourists perceive the destination as a 'brand' comprising of a collection of suppliers and services, rather than a single product. Before visiting they develop an image about destinations as well as a set of expectations based on previous experience, word of mouth, press reports, advertising, and common beliefs (Chon, 1991 and 1992; Baloglu and Brinberg, 1997). During their holiday, they "consume" destinations as a comprehensive experience, without often realising that each element of the product are produced and managed by individual players. Most service providers are small and medium-sized tourism enterprises with a wide range of strengths and weaknesses, characterised by their independent nature (Buhalis and Cooper, 1998, Cooper and Buhalis, 1992).

Theories of motivation

There are a number of studies on visitor motivation: Gray's Sunlust and Wanderlust (1970) typology of tourists, Optimal Arousal Theory (Iso-Aloha, 1980), and Pearce (1988), Dann's (1977) Pull and Push Theory, among others. Push and Pull theory is regularly used when considering both the expectations and demands of tourists (push factors) as well as the features that can attract tourists to a region (pull factors). The theory has been applied in a number of studies to explore both the demand and supply side of the industry: Correia *et al.*,

(2004) and Money & Crofts, (2003), explain individual motivations to travel to exotic locations, Sangpikul (2007) uses the model to explore motivations for elderly travellers to visit Thailand, and Kassean & Gassita (2013) analyse tourists motivations to visit Mauritius. Within this theory, push factors are those things that motive the individual to want to visit. Psychological desires, needs, requires for rest, learning, social status. These tell you what type of things you need at the destination, what kind of experience the individual is looking for. Yoon and Uysal, 2005, add that these motivations are emotional; building on Dann, 1977's conception of push factors as either anomie (of transcendence, or escape from everyday life) or ego-enhancement (of recognition and validation of identity).

Pull factors are those that attract tourists to the region. The things that make tourists want to come to a destination that include attractions, the culture, the costs of the place, the environment, the ability to rest and the ease of access. Dann, 1981, suggests that pull attributes of a destination can reinforce and respond to push factor motivations. You *et al.*, emphasise the need to include environmental quality and infrastructure as key attributes of a successful destination. This is further expanded by Crouch *et al.*, 2000, exploring how the environment and infrastructure are further broken down (Figure 2). Here the pull factors within the destination environment are shown to include both the 'natural environment' whilst emphasising the importance of the social, cultural and economic factors within the site. Alongside this, the necessity of services available for the visitor to utilise are noted. Sites may draw upon each of these two branches to varying degrees, with some factors more essential than others depending on the individual tourists push factors and their requirements (e.g. a destination that provides an 'into to the wild' may require less accommodation services and transport infrastructure to appear authentic, but would require a greater degree of natural environment and social/cultural factors).

Beyond the management models of visitor motivation and destination branding – is the concept is Place. Fundamental to all these models, and all ways of imagining tourism, this is defined as 'the mental construct of the temporal-

spatial experience that occurs as the individual ascribes meaning to settings, through environmental perception and cognition'. It is the combination of both the geographic features of the land, the history, the people, communities, and social interactions that construct the destination, the visit, and the Tourist. All tourists must have a Place to go.

Figure 2, Pull factors in tourism (from Crouch *et al*, 2000)



For tourism and travelers the environment is encountered in a way in which self and place appear related. Studying tourism is explicable about this relationship, the relationship with places and the role people have had in constructing how we think of Place both actively in the form of marketing, branding etc. but also passively. A good example can be explored through our concept of the picturesque. Prior to the conception of picturesque landscape, no idea of 'scenery' existed and the forests were thought to be filled with demons. Painters and writers of the nineteenth century then began to romanticise the countryside, describing vistas and the whole idea of how we view nature changed.

A knowledge of Place and the necessity of place in the tourism system means that we also need to look at the social aspects of interactions with landscapes and how they are created (or have been created) when researching destinations

and visitor interactions. For the destination marketer, this means having a sufficient understanding of place in both the physical and social dimensions to create something that's both compatible to the area and to tourism demands – and to the researcher this creates new avenues of exploration, highlighting a potential to study the social and cultural reasons why a destination appears/behaves/exists as it does, and how this has an impact on how people interact with it.

Tourism in Mid Wales

Before discussing the research from the literature that has sought to study the relationship between renewable energy and tourism, this chapter will provide background information on the research setting, and wider details on the tourism industry in Wales. Tourism in Wales is supported by Visit Wales, the Welsh Government's tourism team within the Department of Heritage to promote tourism and assist in delivery. The industry in Wales is worth a total of £4.5 billion a year and was estimated to support over 100,000 FTE jobs (just under 10% of the total for Wales) in 2012 (via Aitchison, 2012). Tourism policy aims to achieve: “a customer responsive, innovative, sustainable and profitable industry which makes an increasing contribution to the economic, social, cultural and environmental well being of Wales”. (p.7). This mission statement is achieved through five main areas of focus, identified within The Welsh Government Strategy for Tourism 2013-2020 national tourism strategy. Taken from the strategic framework, these five areas of focus identify strategic aims that must be addressed in order to secure long-term sustainable development within a region.

The current study is based in Mid Wales. This region comprises of the counties of Ceredigion, Powys and parts of Gwynedd. The region has been recorded to be responsible for 18% of tourism spending in Wales, 20% of holiday visitor nights and 25% of business nights (WG, 2010). Despite this and although arguably containing some of the more diverse natural products of the country; the transport and tourism infrastructure is generally less developed than in the

more popular national parks of North and South Wales. The tourism product of the region is not homogenous and a variety of attractions are on offer for visitors ranging from galleries and museums to outdoor adventure activities. The Welsh Government (2012) report, 'Visits to Tourist Attractions in Wales: Report for Visit Wales' notes 214 attractions in Wales with 44 (20.5%) located in the area that was supported by the former Tourism Partnership Mid Wales that supported the region. Of the 117 visitor attractions that charge an entry fee, 31 (26%) are in Mid Wales and a slightly lower proportion of 13 (13.4%) of the 97 free attractions are located in the region. Attractions can be broadly categorised as heritage tourism, nature tourism and outdoor recreational activities. Nature tourism builds on the landscapes and countryside of the region, including opportunities for bird watching viewpoints like that seen at Blwch Nant Yr Arian which has marked viewpoints that look over Melindwr valley and Cardigan Bay. Heritage tourism builds on the industrial heritage of the region including attractions such as the Rheilffordd Talyllyn Railway and opportunities to explore former industrial sites such as the Corris Mines and Dyfi Furnace. The region also offers opportunities for adventure tourism including watersports, coasteering, mountain biking and climbing. Walking and horse riding are also popular activities and are one of the key activities featured in promotional material for Ceredigion.

For this reason, walking and exploring the interactions that take place when walking through the countryside in the presence of wind energy developments plays a key part in the current study. Seven factors have been identified to constrain economic development within Mid-Wales (Greaves and Morgan, 2011)

1. High levels of self-employment
2. Small sizes of businesses (the majority of tourism businesses employ fewer than 10 staff)
3. Slow broadband speed (tourism is increasingly reliant on digital technology for marketing and sales)
4. Fewer hours worked per week
5. Lower wages

In an effort to address some of these key factors, tourism in the region was supported and coordinated through Tourism Partnership Mid Wales during the time of the project. This body was funded by Visit Wales as a partnership of public and private sector stakeholders. The development of these public-private partnerships has been identified as a recent trend within governance (Hall, 1999), linked to the development of the ongoing neoliberal project within the western world. In contrast to governance pre-1970, more recently a greater reliance has been placed on the market, leaving the state to function as more of an intermediary between private industries, assisting in enabling the functioning of the market. Hall (1990) identifies developments in management theory that have encouraged this trend, specifically theories of collaboration (e.g. Gray, 1985, 1989; Wood and Gray, 1991) and network development (e.g. Powell, 1990; Freeman, 1991; Cooke & Morgan, 1993) that have highlighted the importance of engaging with stakeholders during processes of regional development. Although highlighting the potential within these approaches, Hall notes Mandell's (1998) warning to academics and highlights the possibility of problems that can occur as management approaches attempt to 'latch on' these theories as a one-size fits all solution to regional issues.

In Mid Wales, the partnership was established as a regional public and private sector organisation with representatives from Ceredigion, Powys and Gwynedd County Councils, Brecon Beacons and Snowdonia National Park Authorities, Wales Tourism Alliance, Mid Wales Tourism and private tourism businesses.

As TPMW represented one of the key stakeholders in the current study, I will briefly spend some time discussing the role they played in Mid Wales. I will then conclude this section by discussing the status of TPMW in 2015. Working towards the five objectives noted below, their aim was to achieve sustainable growth in tourism for the region:

Partnership for Growth: five areas of focus

1. Promoting Branding. A strong brand identity must be reinforced at all levels of the industry. The priorities are to target the existing and new markets that show the greatest potential and driving a 'product-led approach that shows people why Wales is a unique and compelling place to visit.

2. Product Development. Wales will be a high quality destination that offers a distinctive experience throughout the year. The priorities are to increase investment, working with partners that have a successful track record and prioritising investment into projects that show the greatest potential.

3. People Development. Tourism will offer an opportunity for people to build a rewarding career. The priorities are training that meets industry needs, using training to improve customer satisfaction and changing perceptions of tourism as a quality career choice.

4. Profitable Performance Drawing on the latest developments in technology to reach and influence potential customers, and allow tourism businesses to better manage their offering.

5. Stronger Partnership. Encourage better transport links and to develop destinations that people will want to visit and recommend to their friends and family. Local communities will be supported and encouraged to get involved in help deliver a tourism offering that is memorable.

TPMW worked with a number of stakeholders to develop a strategy for promoting tourism to the Region. Figure 3 illustrates some of these key stakeholders and how their work fed into the development of the regional tourism strategy. Each of these stakeholders contributed their individual priorities for the region. On a national level, the Welsh Government provided wider aims for the strategic frame, through the provision of cross cutting policies, and Visit Wales provide product strategies, business objectives and tourism specific frameworks within which the strategy must operate. On a more local level the tourism industry of the region and local authorities provided guidance and targets that synchronise with regeneration strategies and national funding programmes

Figure 3, Tourism Partnership Mid Wales key stakeholders



The goals that TPMW aimed to achieve, are summarised in their mission statement:

“to focus and coordinate the combined resources of stakeholders at a regional level, to support and help implement the aims of national and local tourism priorities, to increase the value of tourism and thereby contribute to the broader, sustainable regeneration of Mid Wales.”

They worked to achieve this through five key activities, with the core themes of ‘product development’; ‘promotion and marketing’; and ‘skills development’.

1. Product Development – TPMW helped to support the industry in improving visitor satisfaction, with a priority to increase investment to reduce the amount of low quality accommodation and to encourage more high end accommodation providers.

2. Branding and marketing – Helping to develop branding for distinctive regional destinations through the use of iconic landmarks and distinctive imagery. TPMW also helped to develop niche tourism branding; helping to support to regionally based product packaging initiatives that are linked to the product priorities for Mid Wales e.g., Eco/Green tourism, heritage and cultural tourism and adventure tourism.

3. Developing Skills – To provide opportunities and support for businesses looking to undertake training. These initiatives were linked to national and regional priorities to develop ICT training, e-commerce skills and to encourage local knowledge and Sense of Place.

4. Research and intelligence – To coordinate tourism research data, working with the Pan Wales Research Group to conduct visitor and trade surveys throughout the region.

5. Partnership – To act as a link between national and regional development projects and to maintain and build new relationships between stakeholders within the region.

In attempting to address these priorities, TPMW contributed to or led on a number of projects such as the Cambrian Mountain Initiative (which sought to promote the Cambrian Mountains as a tourist destination), and the Mid Wales Food Talks project (which sought to form links between hospitality and food producers, whilst promoting Welsh food through a number of events and an iPhone App).

In late 2014, a restructuring exercise resulted in the disbanding of TPMW and other regional tourism partnerships. The responsibilities of these organisations are now organised centrally by Visit Wales and a regional representative has been appointed to help manage each region. This new approach seeks to produce a 'simplified structure' for managing tourism in Wales and hopes to foster

greater links between the public and private sector. Despite the apparent value in the former approach, it is worth noting Hall's (1999) critique of the role of partnership and collaboration in tourism governance. Quoting Deutsch (1970, p.56), he notes that cooperation between groups may exclude those outside of the group, and thus the aims of inclusion, collaboration and partnership are limited to those that are invited early to the table. This lack of direct engagement and collaboration raises questions on the potential for partnerships to encourage sustainable tourism (both economically and environmentally) as key stakeholders may find themselves out of discussions that involve them. The success of the new centrally organised approach is yet to be revealed, and it is hard to see how this new approach can improve on one organised regionally, and thus able to better understand regional issues and opportunities.

Renewables as unusual attractions

Within Mid Wales, recent proposed renewable energy developments have been met with controversy, particularly from residents who often express fear of the impact on the tourism industry. This is particularly concerning when we are interested in developing renewable energy developments *as* attractions, as the support of local residents can be an important factor in developing a successful tourism product. Despite the negative perception of these developments by locals, tourists may still be interested in visiting. People in environments that are out of the everyday for them perceive and experience the surrounding world with different eyes, and they want “to gaze on different landscapes and townscapes that are unusual for them” (Urry, 2011, p. 1). Therefore, it is possible that objects and landscapes that residents might often find irritating could have an attraction to tourists. This attraction can be based on any unfamiliar element, depending only on the tourists' interests and preferences for which objects they perceive and experience as tempting (Leiper, 1990 via Loytynoja, 2008).

There are a number of cases that can be drawn upon to provide examples of where technical objects and landscapes have been presented as attractions. Here, originally functional and industrial objects have been revitalised in order

to support new forms of tourism (Edwards & Llurde, 1996) and former industrial complexes (e.g., copper mines in Røros, Norway; the Ironbridge Gorge area in the UK; the Zollverein coal mine industrial complex in Essen, Germany, etc.) have been placed on the UNESCO heritage list and enjoy the interest of visitors. As public perceptions of solar power plants have become more accommodating in recent years, there has been an increased potential to develop them into a feature of an attraction. However, in contrast to the wind turbines under investigation in the current work, these objects are not as expanded and potentially intrusive as they are located mostly on plain fields (often in agricultural or industrial zones, etc.), are not visible far and wide, and have a lesser impact on the character of the landscape. Michalena and Tripanagnostopoulos (2010) demonstrate the positive effect of solar technologies, functioning as a driver for sustainable tourism development and the wider benefits for the local economy.

In other developments, success has been found by linking these new projects with the industrial heritage of the region. Frantál and Kunc (2011) describe a small-scale hydroelectric generating station in an English national park that has been perceived very positively due to the association with historic water mills in the area that are also preserved in several places around the park. A similar example is present in North Wales within the much larger 'electric mountain' hydro storage power station. The site has been built to feature a café bistro; children's play area and offers guided tours of the facility. Here innovation in technology is perceived positively by representing it as continuity between the past and the modern - with the area having a longstanding connection to slate mining. Similarly, the recent repurposing of closed slate mines in Bethesda for the popular Zipworld and Bounce Below attractions draw similar links between the past and modern. In the tourist material at electric mountain the technology at the site is described as part of the landscape that can be enjoyed, and is still one of the main features for visiting. The Snowdonia tourist website (star-attractions.co.uk) states:

“Both Electric Mountain, and Dinorwig Power Station blend mystically into this beautiful area of Wales. Additionally, there are many areas around Electric Mountain and Llyn Padarn where families can picnic, stroll or just marvel at the magnificent views.” (Star Attractions, 2011).

The technological development thus becomes a site from which the tourist can enjoy the surrounding wildlife. The technological object departs from being an alien object intruding into the natural surroundings; to something that offers the benefit of facilities that are needed to enjoy the natural surroundings, whilst providing an unusual and ‘mystical’ sight for them to gaze upon.

An important evaluative criterion for perceiving the visual effects of different objects on the landscape are the symbolic associations (positive or negative) attached to them. Wind energy may be associated with ‘higher concepts’ such as global climate change (Devine-Wright, 2005, p. 129). Just as the small hydroelectric stations described by Frantál and Kunc (2011) are shown to represent a continuity between the past and the modern, wind turbines could be marketed to symbolically emphasise a continuity with historic wind mills or symbolise a material reconnection to the energy we use (Pasqualetti, 2000). Historic windmills are today regarded as symbols of a nature-considerate approach of the past and serve as obvious tourist attractions, whereas modern wind turbines can appear as alien structures – as the embodiment of the industrialisation of the countryside. For Urry, tourists are likened to semioticians: ‘reading the landscape for signifiers of certain pre-established notions of signs derived from various discourses of travel and tourism’ (Urry, 2011, p.13). To consider these signs as nothing more than a combination of concept and signifier is to remove it from the system from which it belongs. The starting point is not the sign but the system itself from which it originates. Thus, if tourist perceptions need to be addressed, it is not enough to build the facilities and create the attraction by changing the symbolic association of the sign itself. Instead, there needs to be a reframing of the sign, placing it within a system that is attractive and meaningful to the tourist. This strategy is seen in the above example of Electric Mountain, but examples that have sought to involve wind

energy projects are also available. America's first offshore wind farm is set to be built on Nantucket Sand, Massachusetts. Like many wind turbine projects, the development has been met with objections from lobby groups and has been surrounded by controversy.

Figure 4, Promotional material for Hy-Line Ferries



Many opponents disagree on the placement of the project at Nantucket Sand due to fears over the impact of the wildlife of the area and the 'natural' beauty. In order to encourage support for the project, it has been proposed that through a programme with Hy-Line ferries, tours will be given throughout the following the construction of the project on low carbon emission vessels, developing the site into an eco-tourism destination. This has led to accusations of 'greenwashing' directed towards the developers of the project (i.e. a PR strategy that offers a 'green' mitigation strategy that may or may not contribute towards reducing the environmental damage of a proposed development) (Rapo, 2011). Despite the intentions of the developers, the emergence of such a reaction will continue to emerge if wind farms continue to be framed in the public discourse as the utilisation of a public resource as a source of private capital, propped up through government subsidies. This opposition is represented through the coverage of the event in the media, and through the opinions of investors,

residents and local authorities. These stakeholders can have as much an influence on perceived strengths and weakness of an area on which place branding is established, as the perceptions and assessments by tourists (Anholt, 2006; Freire, 2006). The extent to which stakeholders can directly have an effect on tourists, and the way in both tourists the stakeholders effect perceptions of place branding requires further investigation.

Figure 5, still from 'Green Copenhagen' video



Denmark also represents an important case study as turbines have been installed since 1980 and have been well accepted within tourism sites. Nysted Offshore Wind Farm have noted the wind farm has had little effect on visitor numbers and boat trips to the see the project have been arranged with great success since 2003. As the construction of the wind farm is now complete, it is possible to sail between the turbines, allowing tourists on the popular trip to get an up-close view of the development. Wind energy features prominently in the promotional material for Denmark (Figure 5), especially to German markets that are seen to have an interest in environmental issues and new technology (AUSWEA, 2004). As the site of the worlds first offshore windfarm, the promotional material for Copenhagen features wind farms prominently; however, here wind turbines are not the attractions in themselves but support and function within an environmentally conscious framework. Tourists visiting

the city can borrow a bike for free, eat at an organic restaurant and enjoy sustainable accommodation powered by green energy. Twenty per cent of all energy comes from wind power and a guarantee is provided to the customer that a specific part of their payment will go towards new investments in windmills (Ladenburg *et al.*, 2005), helping to meet Denmark's target of 50% of energy from sustainable sources by 2030. Despite the focus on wind energy throughout the green tourism promotional material, turbine tourism is not sold directly but emerges organically from the use of renewable energy in the destination.

These turbines do not appear as alien and obtrusive but coexist with the place branding of Copenhagen and the expectations of tourists. The turbines are presented as a technological continuation of wind mills (and are in fact referred to as 'wind mills' in the promotional material), representing a modern interpretation of a historically and nationally significant image that is likely to be deemed valuable and interesting to the tourist.

Analysing the impacts of Wind Energy on Tourism

As an emerging field of study, the literature that has analysed the relationship between tourism and on-shore wind energy is limited. The majority of studies have either been undertaken as part of planning and developmental process or as 'independent research' by consultancies on behalf of non-governmental organisations. Riddington *et al.*, (2008); notes the difficulty in preparing a literature review of studies of the impact of wind farms on tourism, as information that may be presented as new during Select Committees or Planning Enquiries, is often material from a previous study reworked to suit the agenda of the stakeholder. Typically, developers or their agents report positive or no impact and disregard any studies, which suggest an impact; whilst opponents invariably select the limited number of studies that suggest a negative impact on tourism. The evidence base that supports objections to wind farm developments due to tourism impacts appear to be limited to the findings of a survey conducted in 2002 for Visit Scotland (NFO System Three, 2002), a Western Isles Tourist Board survey (TMS, 2005) and a small 'survey' conducted by a tourism

business, reported in Strachan and Lal (2004). A discussion of these studies will follow.

The limited number of studies available on Wales in the academic text suggests a clear need for more research. Despite a number of studies undertaken in Scotland and throughout Europe, Riddington *et al.*, (2010) notes that no research has yet attempted to quantify the impact of wind energy on tourism in Wales. Despite this, the available literature can highlight areas of interest and produce some insights that may be transferable to the current study. The most extensive literature review available in the text is present in Riddington *et al.*, (2008), as part of a report for the Scottish Government on the Impact of Wind Farms on Scottish Tourism. The report produces a wide review of the literature on the UK, Denmark, Norway, and some smaller international studies but fails to draw parallels between the findings in each of these countries. There is a clear need to identify the applicability of each of these studies to the Welsh tourism product in the current research and general revelations they provide on tourist perceptions of wind farms, environment and nature. The applicability of studies in locations other than the current area of study is questionable. Indeed, surveying of tourist opinions at varying sites help to paint a picture of the overall view of tourist opinion on wind energy, but the effectiveness of using this data to draw generic conclusions is limited. The tourism product in Mid-Wales and the factors that lead tourists to select this tourism product may be very different than elsewhere, opening up the potential for impacts in as of yet unseen ways (for example, Dimitropoulos and Kontoleon [2009] identify that the conservation status of the area and governance characteristics have a greater impact on willingness to accept wind energy projects than the physical attributes of the development). Considering this, the literature is critically accessed, having acknowledged these limitations

In recent research, in Wales 69% and 58% of respondents noted that the landscape and sightseeing (respectively) were their motivations for visiting (Visit Wales, 2013). As in Wales, Scottish tourism has been found to depend heavily on the perceived naturalness of the landscape, with 92% of visitors

stating that the scenery was an important factor when deciding to choose Scotland as a holiday destination (Riddington *et al.*, 2010). This has led to a number of projects investigating the interaction between tourism and wind energy that may emerge from Scotland's commitment to renewable energy production that has been spearheaded by the Scottish National Party. A number of strategies have been employed to research the potential impact using GIS, questionnaires and a looser semi-structured interview methodology. Riddington *et al.*, (2010) use a three-tier approach – using GIS to analyse the potential number of tourists that may be affected by wind farms, reactions of those tourists that are affected and the economic impact of these reactions. The paper employs a Contingent Valuation (CV) based methodology that is not without its limitations. The work acknowledges that it attempts to follow the recommendations of the Arrow Committee (Arrow *et al.*, 1993) by relating the question to a real situation, in this case the extra an individual would be willing to pay compared to a view of a car park; however, a referendum model is rejected as the loss of information was deemed to be 'too severe'. Rather than write in values, the paper uses a method that allows participants to select from a drop down menu of options over a feasible range. The authors acknowledge this may indeed have had a negative affect of leading the respondents and resulting in a more casual, unthinking response. Although a more detailed thoughtful response can lead to lower response rates, a high quantity of low quality results should not be considered more valuable than high quality data – however it is likely the authors of the paper were under time constraints that need to be taken into account. The use of a Willingness to Pay (WTP) survey in an internet based questionnaire is also problematic, and may suffer from a lack of full participant understanding (this led to the design of a tablet based questionnaire in the current study, that utilises the strengths of both internet based surveys and face-to-face surveys - these methodological concerns are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2). The findings of this research suggest impact may be kept to a minimum through the construction of 'fewer, but larger' developments; and notes that overhead cables reduce landscape value far more significantly than wind turbines. A large majority of tourists (93%) noted that no change in their plans would come from the construction of a wind farm development.

This result is supported by work performed by Market and Opinion Research International (MORI), commissioned by BWEA and Scottish Renewables Forum. Within this study 307 face to face interviews were conducted with tourists in Argyll and Bute to access their perceptions of the area, reasons for visiting, previous experience and perceptions of turbines and the likelihood of this having an impact on their behavior. Eight per cent of respondents felt that the wind turbine developments had a negative impact, where as 43% felt they had a positive effect and 43% felt they made no difference. The majority also noted that they would be interested in visiting a wind farm visitor centre, and 91% noted the presence of wind farms made no difference on the likelihood of them revisiting the area. However, this study too is not without it's limitations. Some questions on the survey appear fairly abstract for a quantitative study and may have been difficult for participants to respond to; tourists were asked broadly if there was anything 'unattractive' in the area, the majority reported there was nothing (71%). An open ended question of this manner may have welcomed responses that were not as clearly thought out as other questions which engage the participant in a more specific and thoughtful way. In addition, the study recruited participants in an area that had the highest concentration of wind turbines in Scotland. It is unclear if the very presence of these turbines would have had an effect on the decision of tourists choosing to visit the area, potentially excluding those visitors from the study who would choose to avoid the area because of the wind turbines. This study therefore does not present an indication of the impact of wind energy developments, but rather, represents an enquiry into attitudes towards wind farms of a subsection of potential tourists to Scotland (potentially those tourists that are aware of wind turbines and do not mind them, indeed 49% stated they had seen a wind turbine). This is also an issue in Campey *et al.*, (2003), a survey commissioned by Friends of the Lake District. 143 responses were collected near to wind farms at the borders of the Lake District National Park, Lambrigg near Kendal, Kirkby Moor near Ulverston and the proposed development at Wharrels Hill near Bothel. Seventy five per cent of tourists noted that an increase in wind turbines would have no impact on their visiting behavior, however 22% noted they would likely choose not to return if the number of turbines increased considerably over the next few years.

In Hanley and Nelvin, (1999), perceptions are accessed through the use of photomontage images of wind turbines. Visitors were presented with images of photomontages and the related environmental impacts relating to their exact location. They were then asked to rate their approval of biomass, wind and hydropower development, and how the development of each of these would impact their behavior (and thus their spending). This latter result was calculated from data collected on consumption costs - considered to include travel costs, in terms of petrol purchased, accommodation charges, tourist attraction entry fees, and other on-site expenditures including food and drink. A contingent valuation strategy was also used to access resident attitudes. In this study, wind energy was shown to be the renewable energy scheme with the lowest impact, despite being less accepted with residents than hydro energy. A worst-case scenario in this area put the potential negative impact on income to the area at -£2590 for every tourist day lost (compared to -£17,208 and -£26,829 to hydro and biomass, respectively). However here the use of photomontages constructs the wind energy developments inside a hypothetical scenario outside of the influencing effects of media and public discourse during the construction phase of the projects. The results presented can thus function as a snapshot of public opinion, but this conclusion may be masked within the analysis of the research and objective appearance of a quantitative result.

As noted on page 49, the limited evidence that suggests a negative impact of wind farm development emerge from a small number of key pieces of work. In a discussion of wind farms and tourism, as part of their work more broadly on wind energy in the UK; Strachan, Strachan and Lal, (2004) note of the limited empirical basis on which the evidence in support of wind energy is contested. The previously discussed MORI findings are noted to have been responded to by a representative from the anti-turbine group Views of Scotland in stating:

“The problem with many surveys, including some produced for the Scottish Executive, is that they do not properly measure the evidence in an unbiased way ... We are confident that MORI did a competent job within the remit given to

them, but we note that the sponsors of the research, who specify the remit, were the Scottish Renewables Forum and the British Wind Energy Association. Both have a vested interest in persuading people to accept wind power stations and yet it will be the ordinary people of Scotland who will be affected when tourism suffers ... We have to question the soundness of the assumptions upon which this research was based when it conflicts with the real experiences of ordinary people." (The Scotsman, 2002).

These comments emphasise the battle being fought out in public discourse rather than in the academic literature. Similarly, in 2002, *The Aberdeen Press and Journal* noted of a survey of 100 tourists conducted by two holiday cottage owners where it was found that 70% noted they would not return if the wind farm was built and over 68% expressed a similar intention to avoid Scotland should wind farms be present throughout the landscape (via Strachan and Lal, 2004). Unfortunately for the previous study it is not possible to determine the accuracy and reliability of this result due to the lack of information on the methodology used.

Beyond this limited work from researchers inside the UK, there have been a number of studies undertaken at sites elsewhere in the world. Lilley *et al.*, (2010) explore the effects of wind turbines on coastal tourism in Delaware, USA. Here interviews were conducted with over 1000 respondents using photo-simulations of the proposed wind energy project at several distances. The project found that the impact of the turbines was less than of a fossil fuel plant, and the number of tourists who were less likely to visit, was less than the percentage of visitors who stated they would have a boat tour of the facility. Research in Denmark's Horns Rev, one of the worlds largest offshore wind farms, situated in the North Sea, has also noted no impact on tourism (Kuehn, 2005). However, others have argued that the transferability of this result to the UK tourism product is limited as visitors to Denmark do not visit for the 'wilderness experience and unspoilt nature of the country' (Cook, 2004). A research poll of visitors at a hotel in Australia, also employing photomontage techniques found a high level of acceptance of onshore wind energy developments (and a lower level

of acceptance of offshore developments) (Dalton *et al.*, 2008), however the study has been criticised for a lack of realistic simulations (Lilley *et al.*, 2010). Similar studies looking at both onshore and offshore wind have identified little to no impact in North Carolina (Landrey *et al.*, 2012), Delaware (Kruegar *et al.*, 2011), Washington (Davidson, 2010) and Greece (Dimitropoulos, Alexandros and Kontoleon, 2009). Frantál and Kunc (2011) undertook surveys and semi-structured interviews with tourists and local businesses they assess the subject perception of wind turbines and the socio-economic factors that shape attitudes to wind energy developments in the Czech Republic. The study identifies a small effect on tourism from the technology, noting that two groups of 6% and 4% of individuals would be put off from future visits from wind farm developments. The researchers also note the difficulty in assessing the impact of wind turbine developments on tourism. The pro's and con's associated with the developments will always result in an influence from subjective preference in results.

Wind Farms and Mid Wales

As a region highly dependent on tourism, there has been considerable interest in the potential impact of wind energy developments on the tourism industry of the region. The current work was funded by the Tourism Partnership Mid Wales in order to address the lack of research currently undertaken. Throughout the three years that the current project has been in operation, a number of studies have emerged looking specifically at tourism and wind energy in Wales, however these studies fail to analyse and address the problem in the same detail found within the current work. The most recent study was released in April 2014 undertaken by The Tourism Company and Regeneris Consulting on behalf of the Welsh Government. The study states that it aims to take a bottom up approach and seeks to explore the potential for tourism within the proposed wind energy developments (much like the current research) however the approach it takes does not succeed in reaching these aims. The paper relies heavily on a shallow literature review of the extant research which fails to critically analyse the current literature and primary research is limited to a number of small case

studies that draws on feedback from tourism and business operators. The extent to which such an approach can be considered 'bottom-up' is problematic in excluding those consumers that the business operators are describing. A critique of this type of approach in generating useful data is also present within Aitchison (2012), where it is noted that methodological issues raise concerns over reliability.

Of particular interest to the current study is the case study on Newtown, Powys, as an area close to research site and one also highly dependent on tourism for its employment (24% of local employment is based within the tourism sector). Similarly, the area is highly dependent on its 'natural' environment to draw visitors to the area. The report identifies key objections to the proposed wind energy development that have been witnessed elsewhere, i.e. communities 'shouldering' the burden without seeing benefit, fear of the scale of the development, and a fear of a loss of 'natural' environment to the manmade turbine structures. Interestingly, the report concludes that where turbines have resulted in a perceived reduction in landscape quality, due to the reliance on remoteness and naturalness the tourism economy is at greater threat than other parts of Wales. However again it must be reiterated that these conclusions emerge from consultations with tourism operators rather than tourists.

Interestingly, the April 2014 report which concluded that wind energy developments caused a negligible impact on tourism was heralded by Russell George AM as evidence for an impact on tourism from pylons and onshore turbines (BBC, 2014). Despite showing some shift in position on this, in a later blog post he then proceeded to reject the findings of the report, referring to alternative studies that supported his hypothesis (George, 2014), notably a study by the Mountaineering Council of Scotland which found that 67% of respondents thought that wind farms made the area less attractive. He adds that, when looking 'objectively' at the evidence there are strong feelings on 'both sides of the debate' but overall the evidence suggests that wind energy and the associated infrastructure would 'devastate a vibrant local economy'. These comments

support what was previously noted from Riddington et al. (2010) on the use of sources by the anti-turbine lobby.

The use of secondary analysis such as that seen in the April 2014 report is a trend that appears often within the non-academic literature. A similar report was prepared by The Tourism Company in February 2012, again seeking to consider the evidence base to assess an impact of wind energy on tourism. The report was prepared for the Isle of Anglesey Council and outlines some of the key research that has been undertaken on tourism and wind energy. However, in failing to analyse the quality of the research and some of the methodological issues within the research that it describes, poor work is represented equally alongside some of the better quality pieces of work. In contrast, a more robust analysis is conducted by Aitchison (2012) as part of the Garreg Lwyd Hill Wind Farm proposal in Powys on behalf of RES UK and Ireland. Here Aitchison provides a critical analysis that is often lacking in other reports, providing an analysis that privileges studies within the literature that have been undertaken with a more robust and reliable methodological approach. Alongside this, the report outlines the difficulty in conducting research on the impact of a proposed wind energy project, and she provides an analysis that outlines methodological errors and difficulties in previous research. These critiques that are raised by Aitchison are expanded on in the current study, and an effort is made to go beyond these limitations. In assessing the impact of Garreg Lwyd Hill Wind Farm, the study concludes that there is no evidence to support the assertion that the development will negatively effect tourism in Powys due to a lack of evidence of the impacts on tourism in general and due to the tourism offering in the region in relation to the proposed wind farm. In concluding, she comments on this often-quoted impact on tourism in noting:

“The opposition to wind farms on tourism grounds appears to be informed more by fear than fact. The research conducted by GCU stated that ‘Importantly, respondents that had seen a wind farm were less hostile than those who had not’ (Glasgow Caledonian University, 2008a: 3). Starling’s and Glasgow Caledonian University’s findings therefore lend support to Young’s

(2003) research; namely, that opposition to wind farms tends to fall after construction.” (2012, pg. 45)

Aitchison also reiterates a key concern on the limited amount of primary research undertaken on wind energy in Wales. A major NFO study was undertaken in 2003 for Visit Wales, where both tourists, ‘key players’ (including CCW, the environment agency, the Welsh Assembly, and the Wales Tourism Alliance) and tourism businesses were interviewed at locations throughout Wales. Similar to previous work the key players and businesses that were consulted often expressed a fear of a potential impact from wind energy developments in terms of a reduction in landscape quality. Of particular interest to the current study is the research that was undertaken with tourists at 8 sites (Aberystwyth, Machynlleth, Knighton, Rhyl/Colwyn Bay, Porthcawl, Rhayader, Welshpool and Hay-on-Wye) chosen for their proximity to existing and planned developments. Quotes were set to ensure that different groups of visitors were interviewed such as day-trippers, overseas visitors and both active and passive countryside users. A total of 266 interviews were conducted using a hall test method, whereby potential participants were approached in the street and taken to a hired venue to conduct the interview. Within one section of the interview, participants were asked to select items that enhanced or detracted from their visiting experience; the results are presented in Table 1 on page 60.

In this paper, 97% of tourists surveyed identified the ‘unspoilt views of the landscape’ as either very important, or important. Seventeen per cent of visitors noted that wind farms enhanced the experience, and 23% considered that they detracted from their experience – a number comparable to that found for hydroelectric and other power stations. Over 70% of respondents that were interviewed noted that they had seen a wind turbine either on this trip or a previous trip, and the majority of respondents were positive towards turbines as presenting an ecologically friendly source of power (30%). The most quoted negative impact was the effect on the scenery and landscape (33%) however other respondents noted their views were conditional on other factors including the size, position and number of the turbines. Eight per cent of respondents

noted that it would not be a factor, as they didn't have to 'live with it' and could leave the turbines behind after their holiday. 77% of respondents noted a minimal or no impact on their chances of revisiting Wales should the number of turbines increase. Also interestingly during an attitude statement section of the study, when asked if they 'would be interested in visiting a wind farm development if there was a visitor centre', 68% noted an interest in visiting.

Although of interest, the reliability of this study has come under criticism through the use of Hall Tests to generate a sample (Aitchison, 2012). Indeed, such an approach is likely to encourage those that feel strongest to agree to take part. A similar critique is raised by Riddington *et al.*, (2008) towards the NFO (2002) report where a 'hall approach' is also applied, however here only those that stated that the natural scenery was an important part of their stay were invited to take part in the study, thus excluding business travellers, those visiting friends, adventure tourists, etc.

Riddington *et al.*, (2008) also note two other studies undertaken in Wales in the early 1990s by consultancy groups, however it was not possible to locate the original copies of these studies undertaken by Robertson Bell Associates (1997) and Blandford, *et al.* (1994). The latter study was undertaken for CCW who were unable to provide a copy of the study. Both these studies are widely quoted within the literature, however these accounts often appear to be reproductions of the information provided within Riddington *et al.*, (2008). The current study unfortunately has to do the same, but as the work was undertaken over 20 years ago their full inclusion may be of limited value.

"Chris Blandford Associates (Blandford, *et al.* 1994) provides further evidence that local people feel wind farms are a tourist attraction. For Llandinam, Rhyd-y-Groes and Llangwryfon Wind Farms, 65%, 59% and 49% respectively, of local people believe the wind farms would attract tourists." (Riddington *et al.*, 2008, p. 57).

Table 1, visitor perceptions of developments (reproduced from NFO, 2003).

	VISITOR COUNT (DETRACTED %)
ELECTRICITY PYLONS AND WIRES	48
MOBILE TELEPHONE MASTS	37
ARMY FIRING RANGES	31
QUARRIES	30
PLANTED, GEOMETRIC FORESTRY	28
TELEPHONE WIRES AND POLES	25
HYDRO-ELECTRIC AND OTHER POWER STATIONS	24
WIND FARMS AND TURBINES	23
HYDRO-ELECTRIC DAMS/RESERVOIRS	6
FISH FARMS	6
FENCES, WALLS, HEDGES	4
WAYMARKING SIGNS - ON HIGH GROUND	4
FUNICULAR RAILWAYS ON MOUNTAIN SIDES	4
TRAILS AND TRACKS ACROSS OPEN UPLAND AREAS	4
WAYMARKING SIGNS - ON LOW GROUND	3
PLANTED FORESTRY - MIXED SPECIES, NON-GEOMETRIC	3

	VISITOR COUNT (ENHANCED %)
PLANTED FORESTRY - MIXED SPECIES, NON-GEOMETRIC	65
TRAILS AND TRACKS ACROSS OPEN UPLAND AREAS	55
FUNICULAR RAILWAYS ON MOUNTAIN SIDES	44
HYDRO-ELECTRIC DAMS/RESERVOIRS	40
WAYMARKING SIGNS - ON LOW GROUND	40
WAYMARKING SIGNS - ON HIGH GROUND	38
FENCES, WALLS, HEDGES	35
PLANTED, GEOMETRIC FORESTRY	29
FISH FARMS	18
WIND FARMS AND TURBINES	17
QUARRIES	15
HYDRO-ELECTRIC AND OTHER POWER STATIONS	9
ARMY FIRING RANGES	4
TELEPHONE WIRES AND POLES	3
MOBILE TELEPHONE MASTS	2
ELECTRICITY PYLONS AND WIRES	1

“Robertson Bell Associates (1997) surveyed residents close to the Taff Ely development and found that the majority of residents (68%) felt that the number of people visiting the area has not been affected, but of those who thought there had been some effect, many more say that visitor numbers have increased (15%) than have decreased (1%).” (Riddington *et al.*, 2008, p. 57).

One final piece of research is often repeated within the literature however, little is known of the original research methodology or of further details beyond that reported by David Stewart Associates (BWEA, 2006). They report a thesis undertaken in 2001 for the Wales Tourist Board, however no further information on the author or the institution within which the study was carried out. Despite this, the results of this study are often quoted within literature reviews and summaries of the impact of wind energy developments on tourism. These key conclusions are that 96% of visitors would not be put off from the development of wind farms, almost 70% would visit a wind farm if an information centre would be built and that most people think that the contribution of wind farms to renewable energy targets outweighs their impact on the landscape. Furthermore, it was found that there is not a large difference in the opinions of those that saw a wind farm on their stay, and those that did not. Unfortunately, information is not provided on the background to this ‘thesis’, and it is not possible to know if it was undertaken by an undergraduate or postgraduate student and the methodological and sampling approaches that were taken.

Section 3: Tourism and the (in)visible

I now wish to move towards framing and addressing the current research objectives. To begin doing this, I first wish to explore some of the theoretical ideas that lead the current project. Due to the dominance of the visual within the research discussed in Section 2, where I note that visual impact has been a key line of enquiry, I begin with a consideration of visuality and perceptions of landscape. In an attempt to consider the impact of wind energy developments on conceptions of natural landscapes in Mid Wales during tourist encounters, and to consider the potential that may exist within these encounters, I then turn towards the tourism specific literature on Gaze in the work of Urry (e.g. 2011, 1998) and MacCannell (e.g. 1976, 2011). In an attempt to move beyond their ideas whilst preserving the concept of Gaze, I utilise an application of Lacan and then Deleuze, moving beyond the Gaze of the eye and towards a notion of Gazing that is jarring, embodied and productive.

Gaze and Landscapes

It is clear that conceptions of rural landscape and the visual quality of the space plays a key role in discussions on the role of wind energy within tourism. As shown in Section 2, previous studies have sought to determine the impacts of developments by studying the impact on perceptions of landscape. I thus wish to begin this more theoretical section with a discussion on the focus of visuality in landscape and tourism, exploring the development of landscape aesthetics historically before considering what it may mean to 'Gaze' at a landscape within the tourism literature and beyond.

Landscape has been talked about as a way of seeing the social world (Cosgrove, 1985), a theatre on which society acts out its contemporary values (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1993) and a text that can be read (Duncan, 1995). For the tourist, picturesque landscapes encouraging feelings of calm and solace, offering relief from the rush of urban existence. They appear to tourists as something both

familiar and exterior to them, providing - what has been referred to as - a facilitating role between the Subject and the Other (McCannell, 2011). Paraphrasing Derrida, MacCannell writes it is 'an exteriority which we believe we know as the most familiar thing in the world' (ibid., p. 119).

Those landscapes that we refer to as 'picturesque' are often found within rural areas, where the impact of human activity is perceived to be minimal and the landscape can be enjoyed as untouched nature. The identification of rural countryside with nature has been argued to emerge as a result of an apparent binary opposition found in western culture between 'nature and civilisation' and 'nature and society' that have historically informed the separation of town and country in literature, art and government policy (Woods, 2005). This pairing has also produced moral geographies in which the countryside is held to be a purer, nobler and a more treasured place than the city (MacNaghten and Urry, 1998; Short, 1991). Woods (2005) notes that this 'romanticised association' is built on three core components, the first of which is that the landscape found in rural areas is perceived as *natural*. This landscape is distinguished from urban landscape due to the presence of ecological features. Despite the obvious contradiction - the term landscape itself implies anthropogenic presence - it is noted that these presences can be tolerated if they could be considered biological artifacts of human interaction with nature (crops, forest, pasture, etc.) or are small-scale constructions that comply with the prevailing aesthetics of the landscape (dry stone walls, stone cottages, etc.) (Woods, 2003). The second and third components relate to the activities in the landscape (rural activities are those that are seen to use and work with nature) and the people of the landscape (rural people are those are 'in tune' with nature and have a greater understanding of local fauna and wildlife). Indeed, anthropogenic actions have helped to construct the physical aspects of landscape, but a historical look will help to reveal how social values, especially those of the ruling classes, have helped to determine how landscape looks and is represented, and what is considered 'natural' is a particular social and cultural tradition tied up in ideas of class, gender and race.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century a very specific meaning was attributed to the term 'picturesque'. The development of this landscape aesthetic was linked to the new importance of images of landscape in art. The traditional landed classes become more involved in the development of their estates, and the growing middle class that emerged from the commercial and industrial sector resulted in the emergence of new ways of understanding class positioning and demonstrating affluence. Landowners commissioned paintings of the land that they owned and a growing middle-class market emerged for landscape painting. This led to the production of travel guides with advice on where, what and how to see 'properly' - as an appreciation for picturesque landscapes became a measure of good taste and status. Landscapes considered attractive in both paintings and travel guides were panoramic but usually framed by large trees; guiding the eye of the viewer down and out over a vista along a meandering path to a distant horizon. This way of seeing emphasised an elevated viewpoint that allows the viewer to gaze over the land, unobstructed by trees or physical features. Written material also emphasised this idea of exteriority and sovereignty:

My eye, descending from the Hill, surveys
Where Thames among the wanton valleys strays.
Thames! The most loved of all the Ocean's sons,
By his old sire, to his embraces runs,
Hasting to pay his tribute to the sea,
Like mortal life to meet eternity;

- *Extract from Coopers Hill, John Denham.*

The principle that a 'correct way' to appreciate landscape existed emerged as a mechanism through which political authority could be legitimated. Upper class thinkers argued that objective detachment was a requirement for political authority (just like that required by the viewer to look through the detail of a scene to consider the abstract general picture) (Barrell, 1980). Lower classes, including those that worked the land, were suggested to be unable to see the land with the objectivity and distance required to govern, their closeness to the

land making them unable to understand abstract concepts 'properly'. These people were seen as part of the landscape and not as viewers of it. As the threat of rural unrest increased in response to ever decreasing labour conditions, images began to emphasise the necessity of hard work in maintaining the idyllic conditions found in the rural landscape. These depictions celebrated working landscapes and depictions of agriculture, giving justification to landowners who sought to exploit the working poor to increase profitability and productivity. Hard work became depicted as a natural exploit, and a productive landscape became adopted into ideals of picturesque. The rural poor became symbols of this 'natural' relationship with the land, rather than as individuals to resist oppression and create social change.

Ye Reapers, cast your Eyes around the Field,
And view the Scene its different Beauties yield:
Then look again with a more tender Eye,
To think how soon it must in Ruin lie.
For once set in, where-e'er our Blows we deal,
There's no resisting of the well-whet Steel. (lines 224-29)
- *Extract from Stephen Duck, The Threshers Labour*

In the example above, Duck emphasises the pleasure of work, glorifying the value the worker places into the landscape. However, this pleasure is accompanied with a sense of pain for both the landscape and the worker ('To think how soon it must in Ruin lie'). Such poetry and imagery may at first present itself as an empowering force for the working poor, but whilst glorifying their position, it continues to reaffirm the stratification of class structure.

Tourist Gaze

The visual has played a key role within tourism research since the late twentieth century, where researchers began studying visual images derived from tourists (especially western tourists). The first study to use visual images in the context

of tourism research can be found in Orton and Pollock's work on Gauguin and Bernard's paintings of Brittany in the 1880s (Orton and Pollock, 1980). Their paper argues that the paintings present the region as primitive and exotic, removed from the horrors of modernity – and that this framing had an impact on the imagining of the area as a tourist destination. During the 1990s a number of articles followed that developed the ideas of the paper, linking art and aesthetics with the performances of tourism (e.g. Green, 1990; Lenman, 1990; J.D. Herbert, 1990; Chard and Langdon, 1996; Crawshaw and Urry, 1997). Lübbren and Crouch (2003); however, note that the main focus given to the visual field in tourism studies emerged from the key work of MacCannell's *The Tourist* (1976) and Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* (1990). In both of these publications, the authors argue on the centrality of the visual spectacle to the tourism experience, with Urry presenting a case for the structuring function of the 'tourist gaze' in touristic experiences and expectations. As two important projects that I will continually return to, I will now provide a summary of each of these two works and some of the key ideas.

MacCannell's seminal work *The Tourist* is often regarded as the birth of tourism studies, where for the first time the Tourist is analysed as sociological subject. Drawing on MacCannell's background in anthropology, the work considers the modern tourist as a subject in search of authenticity in a western world of commodification and cultural alienation. He describes this project as examining 'the behavior of sightseers and the things they go to see for clues about the hidden structures and meanings of life at the end of the modern epoch.' (MacCannell, 1999, pg. xi). His idea draws on a structuralist analysis based on the work of Levi-Strauss and Barthes that allows him to explore the tourism experience as the relationship between the tourist, a sight and a marker (such as a guidebook). Within *The Tourist* he also introduces the concept of 'staged authenticity' drawing on the work of Goffman, to propose the false fronts that face tourists despite their demands for authenticity, in his effort to reclaim and celebrate the tourist from bourgeois disdain.

Urry continues this sociological analysis of the Tourist in his work *The Tourist Gaze*, now in its third edition (3.0). In contrast to MacCannell, Urry is not concerned with authenticity but rather positions tourism as a quest for pleasure: "This is a book about pleasure, about holidays, tourism and travel, ...yet part of that experience is to gaze upon or view a set of different scenes, of landscapes or townscapes which are out of the ordinary. In other words, we gaze at what we encounter" (Urry, 1990. P. 1)

Through a discourse analysis, the work charts the cultural production of a form of Tourist Gazing that he likens to that of Foucault's medical gaze in *Birth of the Clinic*, whereby the tourist finds themselves within the role of Foucault's doctor, but here dissecting the scene with their eyes into sites ready to be consumed (as in Foucault, 1973, p. 162). The book notes how in different societies and social groups through different historical periods the tourist gaze has developed. Unlike MacCannell's work, Urry does not attempt to move beyond a descriptive account of the Gaze in his work – although it is likely that an effort to move beyond is inherent to his project of describing the status quo.

From Gaze to bodies

This visual centric approach that emerged following these works however has come under criticism from some researchers who have argued that a true experience can only be recorded and analysed if it is considered as multisensual. Indeed, the lack of research on embodied experiences in tourism is noted in Veijola and Jokinen's provocative paper, where they declare that the 'the body is absent' from tourism studies (1994, p. 149). This line of thought is explored in Cater, (2001) in a discussion of Urry's example of the Tourist Gaze in operation at Niagara Falls. In response to Urry's conception of the popular attraction as "another place to be collected by the immensely mobile visitor for whom the gaze at the falls stands for spectacle, sex and commercial development" (1990, p. 62), he notes of accounts within the literature of experiences at the falls which evoke more: "'a pleasant shudder', 'a quivering rapture', or a feeling 'as if my

senses had been given fear reigns” (Lofgren, 1999, p. 28 via Cater, 2001). He evidences this through marketing copy that describes the experience that tourists can expect on the whirlpool jet boats at the site:

“Tourists will feel the *anticipation*, the *splash* of the water, the *power* of the boat and of the *mighty* falls in this *brehtaking* experience. As such, tourists are encouraged to become actively involved with experiencing the falls up close and personal.” (Cater, 2001, p. 8).

Researchers who have argued for greater consideration of the role of the body in tourism, recognise that like many social science fields, tourism study has too taken on a ‘characteristically, visual appropriation of the world’ (Gregory, 1994, p.16). Cater however adds that the visual not only dominates the areas of study but also the research approaches within which these subjects are studied. In response to this, Denzin calls for new approaches to research:

“I attempt to expose the limits of the gaze and the new technologies that have been deployed to better capture and reveal reality in its fullest. I assess the part the social sciences have played in this project, critiquing the investigative, ethnographic, qualitative gaze that the social sciences have used throughout the twentieth century. I call, after Martin Jay (1993), for a new epistemology of truth. This is an epistemology that goes beyond the ocular-based systems of knowing, emphasising the other senses” (1998, p. xix)

It is argued that in order to understand experience a fully embodied concept of the tourist is needed - one that includes all aspects of experience (movement, sound, touch, etc.) as these are just as important as the visual (Desmond, 1999, p. xxi). As Veijola and Jokinen (1994) note: ‘is the gaze really detachable from the eye, the eye from the body, the body from the situation?’ (p. 136).

Urry has responded to these critiques more recently through a reformulation of his original conception of the Tourist Gaze, positioning it as something between a

pleasure/desire force for an object to an objectifying visual perceptive effect. In a 2001 interview he noted: 'there is not a singular tourist gaze... I think there is a multiplicity, and the way to approach the analysis of these multiplicities of tourist gazes is, among other things, to think about the taste-scapes, smell-scapes, sound-scapes, touch-scapes.' (Franklin, 2001). He also aligns himself with researchers that find productive potential in exploring the body and opportunities it offers for resisting the Tourist Gaze. In a discussion of walking and rock climbing, he notes the potential for 'resistant bodies' to go beyond the dominance of visibility which for Urry is a dominant and objectifying force (p. 121).

Gazing beyond the Eye

In an alternative response to the concerns of researchers, MacCannell however sought to explore a resistance to the Gaze within visibility itself. In his more recent publications he begins to turn towards more contemporary thought within critical theory whilst working with some of the ways in which the concept of Gaze has been applied within other disciplines (e.g. Mulvey, 1989.).

Building on Urry's ideas, MacCannell sought to synthesise his project with the contemporary literature with his introduction of a 'second gaze'. Through a discussion of the Gaze within Lacanian Psychoanalysis he offers a gaze within the tourist that strives for something that cannot be found within the Tourist Gaze – and this striving for beyond opens up opportunities within Tourism. This analysis is not presented with the same rigor as Urry's work, and is rather presented as an extension of his former work on authenticity, presenting it in a way that allows it to function alongside Urry's Tourist Gaze. Problematically, this second gaze is still dependent on a search for authenticity that MacCannell still believes is accessible. This both leads to his rejection of the emancipatory potential within the Tourist Gaze which he claims 'in aiming at subjective freedom for tourists and others, its trajectory goes in precisely the opposite direction. By definition, articulations among fixed positions cannot be free'

(MacCannell 2001, p. 30) and to an application of Lacanian Psychoanalysis that fails to acknowledge the inaccessibility of the Real: 'On tour, the second gaze may be more interested in the ways attractions are presented than in the attractions themselves. It looks for openings and gaps in the cultural unconscious. It looks for the unexpected, not the extraordinary, objects and events that may open a window in structure, a chance to glimpse the real' (MacCannell 2001, p. 36). In doing this MacCannell fails to propose a true alternative Gaze that opens up for the possibility of *difference*, and rather creates the possibility for a hierarchy of tourist experiences and gazes to emerge. This is best exemplified in his derision of the Lonely Planet Japan guide, where the writers express displeasure with an attraction that fail to 'see themselves' as they would be seen by tourists and arrange their appearances so as to be attractive to tourists.' (MacCannell, 2001, p. 29).

These ideas are also developed more thoroughly in MacCannell's *Ethics of sightseeing* (2011). Here he further develops some of the ideas explored within the tourist, but appears to draw on psychoanalysis to a greater extent. He notes that humans live in and through symbols without being aware of the 'symbolic order' (a term borrowed from Lacan) and that this Symbolic is the primary mechanism to shield us from the Real of existence. Humans however, are 'touched' by the real in the form of intense sexual pleasure, birth, unbearable pain, organ failure and death. Drawing on Lacan he proposes a number of frameworks to suggest the possible encounters the tourist may have with the attraction Object and how these encounters may potentially lead to an encounter with the Real Other. Here he situates the attraction as the Object a (drawing on Lacan's concept of the *objet a* – the unsymbolisable component to the Real), as the symbolic representation of the tourists desire for the Other which can also function to block the desire of the tourist to reach the goal of reaching the Other. Here MacCannell's quest for authenticity remains, albeit hidden amongst an inappropriate application of Lacanian jargon.

Despite some problematic assertions, what MacCannell is proposing does have a productive potential. Within this idea he asserts that there exists a possibility or

a space within which desire is not met – where the Gaze fails and instead of seeing the world as docile, friendly and accommodating as expected – a blot appears on the landscape. Here he is introducing a fundamental idea within Lacanian Psychoanalysis, the concept of ‘Lack’. This idea broadly is to be considered to be an unfulfilled (and unfillable) space that drives desire. It is this desiring drive that can never be fulfilled which constitutes the Lacanian Subject. However, within MacCannells work the Subjects awareness of Lack comes too easily, and without justification he proposes that this occurs automatically within the tourist encounter as the tourist goes in search of authenticity. Additionally, by remaining fixed within the visual, he fails to see the potential trajectory that may emerge – one that builds on the idea of Gaze to consider it as a descriptive term to address as an objectifying force - rather than the movement of photons.

This is the trajectory that I wish to take up in the current work. Initially I seek to continue the line of thought (or line of flight) introduced within MacCannells recent work through an exploration of the potential within sightseeing through a correct conception of Gaze as explored within Lacanian Psychoanalysis before seeking to move beyond this again, synthesising both Gaze and Embodiment through an application of Deleuzian philosophy.

Lacan, Sightseeing and the Gaze

It is first worth exploring the concept of Gaze from psychoanalysis and identifying how it differs from the similar term currently under use in tourism studies. Urry’s concept of Tourist Gaze emerges from an application of Foucault’s medical Gaze to the study of tourism. For Foucault this modern way (or Gaze) of approaching medicine is not a natural practice, but a learned one and the way that we see the body has changed throughout history. As MacCannell (2011) notes, this is the Gaze of tourist desire and one that sees the invisible as the future visible – the tourist as subject sees what (s)he expects. A Lacanian gaze however is better described as the result of where the Tourist Gaze fails. This is the Gaze that appears to be directed at the subject from the object of their desire,

forever out of reach and forever elusive, resulting in a constitutive realisation in the subject of their own Lack. This conception of the Gaze emerges from Lacan's teaching in Seminar XI on Sartre's Gaze, where he identifies the Gaze as 'not a seen gaze, but a gaze imagined by me in the field of the Other'. However Lacan extends Sartre's conception further, asserting the agency of the Gaze as not in the presence of the Other, but rather within the Subject herself, suggesting that the act of looking itself results in Gaze as the scene 'looks' back and identifies the visibility of the Subject, making them aware of their own shortcomings (or Lack). Through this we posit within the tourist space to a reflective potential, as areas of discordance within the space gaze back and the Urryian Gazer becomes Gazed upon.

From his earliest writings, Lacan showed an interest into the concept of 'gaze' through his conception of the mirror stage in infant development. Here Lacan describes the moment that a child experiences herself for the first time in the mirror (Lacan, 2006, p. 75). Here, a mirror does not necessarily have to be a 'mirror' (in the literal sense), and may be represented as the response from a parent or sibling (or indeed a visiting tourist as in Moufakkir and Reisinger, 2013). Lacan suggests that human beings are born 'premature' (Lacan *et al.*, 2006) and as such we are dependent on others at birth and for years afterward. On experiencing herself in the mirror, the child realises that she does not correspond to the image on the mirror, this image being far more coherent than her own lived experience. This image thus functions as a target to be attained, an ideal that although unreachable helps to construct the identity and reality of the subject. However when referring to the 'gaze', Lacan moves beyond the visual and expands the gaze to function in separation from the eye. This gaze is not directed from the eyes of the beholder, but rather, the eyes of the beholder are beholden to the gaze. By splitting vision and gaze (Lacan, 1978, p. 78), Lacan is indicating that the limits of consciousness refer to what escapes the subject or the self. Gaze, by "eluding vision" (Lacan, 1978, p. 73), limits the grasp of the (viewing) self and thus unravels the mastery of the self. And yet when referring to the gaze, a question remains – how can this gaze be both of the Real and disruptive and visible to the subject, whilst avoiding domestication by the

symbolic? And also, as things that are apprehensible are objects and the Real is a no-thingness – how can it be disruptive? Lacan addresses these questions by suggesting that the Gaze is partially seen or is present whilst avoiding being fully integrated, functioning in a similar way to a ‘stain’ (Lacan, 1978, p. 74). This Gaze is present in all art, especially paintings (Lacan, 1978, p. 110), as long as it frames the Other, it deals with the gaze as lack and the lack of wholeness in the symbolic. In its very nature as being an object that stands out amongst others, art exemplifies this lack. In this current project, it is interesting to consider the parallels between this concept of the ‘stain’ and often-used description as wind turbines as ‘blots on the landscape’.

The sightseer can equally be subject to this gaze. Like Sartre’s voyeur we too wish to watch from a safe distance and find security in our ‘look’ from the security of our own fantasy; however the presence of the Gaze announces that there will be no such satisfaction – the self is no longer seeing itself seeing but now sees itself being seen and its own weaknesses and misunderstandings (or Lack) are brought to the forefront. For Lacan, phenomenological descriptions of Gaze fail to see that in bringing meaning to the world, consciousness has already been shaped by the symbolic and so suffer from the finitude of symbolically generated meaning. The Real haunts the symbolic and that which fails to be symbolised appears as a disruptive ‘stain’ on the image that first appeared to be complete and coherent to the subject. In Seminar XI, Lacan refers to Hans Holbeins painting, ‘the ambassadors’ in which two men stand self-assured surrounded by objects and tokens that represent both wealth and knowledge. Yet a sort of stain appears in the middle of the painting. By adjusting the angle of view (by looking awry) the stain appears to be human skull, which “nearly seems to flee the entire scene” (Aydemir, 2007, p. 63). In this case, the skull may metaphorically represent the ever-present Real of death. As the un-representable, the ever-present Real of mortality is disruptive to the peaceful, self-assured reality of the ambassadors. But likewise, as the eye of the viewer is moved into position by the imposing ‘stain’, the skull gazes back at the viewer of the painting, undermining the gazers understanding of the painting itself – the viewer no longer finds security within the image, but is instead left troubled to

find the painting contains within it itself the seeds of its own dissolution. On seeing the work maybe their own understanding of interpreting art will be brought into question never to be absolved? In the case of the sightseer, the presence of the stain refuses to allow one to fully comprehend what is presented, a portion of the invisible remains forever invisible and unknowable – or if we return to our initial example, the stain (as turbine) refuses to be accommodated into a conception of nature that refuses to be absolved, as it takes the place of the Lack of the subject as Object petit a. In being brought face-to-face with this stain, the potential is created for the failure of this object to account for this Lack and for it to open up the Subject to the void.

Relating these ideas to the current literature

MacCannell (2001) has alluded to this Gaze in his proposition of the ‘second gaze’. His critique of the power structures established by Urry’s Gaze echoes Foucault’s own critique of the medical Gaze, that whilst initially appearing to place patients at the centre of the establishment, only seeks to further objectify them:

“Urry has extended this notion to the relations between tourists and the locals who serve them and who appear to the powerful tourist gaze as a variety of exotic fauna”. (MacCannell, 2001)

For MacCannell, tourists know that looks can deceive and he proposes that a Second Gaze operates in creating a point of critique and freeing up the subject, allowing them to search for the experience they truly desire. However, this concept of a ‘second gaze’ suggests that an additional and critical gaze is directed from the subjects towards the object, where as the ‘Gaze’ alluded to above drawing from Lacan may be better suggested to come from the subject towards itself in the presence of the object. This is more in line with Kingsbury’s (2011) application of the Lacanian gaze to the workers at Sandals resorts, which emphasise the subject viewing themselves in the presence of the object, drawing

on the registers discussed earlier (however the current work seeks to move beyond the concept of tourist as Subject):

“There are two types of gazes that result from a gap between the Imaginary place from where people see themselves as likeable and the Symbolic place from where they are being gazed at so as to appear likeable to themselves” (Kingsbury, 2011, p.660).

However, a degree of ontological confusion lies at the core of MacCannell's (2011) critique, mistaking the aim of the Tourist Gaze as one of prescription rather than description and analysis. MacCannell's concern for a true radical freedom goes beyond the remit of the Urryian project. The gaze he offers fits between the gaps of the Tourist Gaze, where the object of the Gaze of the tourist fails to meet the demands placed upon it – or where the habitual performances of the individual are disrupted or become too identifiable and thus subject to critique (Edensor, 2007). For MacCannell, this is where the reflective potential lies, in this second Gaze, this Gazing and desiring for more. However at the core of this argument lies a subject plagued by false-consciousness in search for authenticity, a potentially controversial concept in the face of contemporary theoretical developments that have emphasised the role of the post-tourist and the performative role of the body. Indeed, MacCannell also makes a break with Lacan positing the accessibility of the Real. This is a concept explored further in *Ethics of Sightseeing* (2011), where MacCannell charts the possibility of accessing the Other (as Lacanian Real) through the Attraction (referred to as *Objet a*, borrowed from Lacan). However rather than functioning as an unsymbolisable 'left-over' from the Real, it functions as a gateway through which the Subject can pass through to access the Real ('producing terror or even more frightening, an actual orgasm' alluding to Lacan's term *jouissance*). Here applying these terms from Lacanian Psychoanalysis only results in confusing the argument, and although provocative is incorrect in its application of the theory. For Lacan, rather than identifying a Lack (i.e. of authenticity) in the Other (in this case the tourist attraction), the Gaze points to the lack in the very illusion that structures the reality of the Urryian gazer; and although this may

begin a search for authenticity - the search is futile as the haunting stain of the Gaze will be ever present. And so, just as in the final stages of psychoanalytic therapy, the aim for the tourist must be to traverse the fantasy – for the subject to walk (maybe literally in the current case) through a process whereby the unattainability of desire is revealed. It is argued that the act of traversing the fantasy pushes the subject into a state of drive, and within this position of destitution new spaces are opened up for a fundamental reconstruction of individual and collective values, allowing for challenges to be made to the ideological structures that govern both subjective and objective reality (Žižek, 1999).

Within the current context, one could question the opportunities presented within sites in rural areas that are becoming increasingly favorable for wind energy development and where research is underway to accommodate (or possibly mitigate the perceived negative effects of) such developments within the tourism development of the area. To consider the Lacanian Gaze above, is to suggest that a potential exists for these developments to become key strategies for ecological engagement and re-politicisation of Nature as tourists are given the possibility to come face to face with the 'blots' on the landscape, the stains on the otherwise 'natural' countryside that warn of impending disaster or that force the tourist to question the existence of the sacred landscape it seeks to protect. Like Holbeins skull these structures on the landscape may not fit into the picture that the tourist fantasises about, and may result in a search for authenticity that is forever considered to lay elsewhere. Indeed it is here we see parallels with MacCannells concept of the ever out of reach authentic 'backstage' (1976) but where the interaction occurs within the tourist herself rather than the with a host community. Thus a search for authenticity is not proposed as one of tourist desire but of necessity, were the searching and failure to reach this point is necessary for the formation of the free Subject.

Of greater concern however are the new ethical considerations for tourism this theoretical argument raises. The Gaze as discussed above, has the potential to reveal and expose Lack, allowing for the possibility of revealing the limitations in

ideological fantasy - but it is only a potential. As MacCannell notes: “everywhere the institutions of tourism and sightseeing entice the subject to shut down its second gaze. The institutions of tourism provide attractive enticements to embrace as one’s own the versions of imagination proffered by commercial entertainment” (2001). Here, MacCannell echoes Lacan’s comments in Seminar XI when discussing landscape painting. He notes that when artists try to portray something objective like landscape, there is ‘something so specific to each of the painters that you will feel the presence of the gaze.’ However, in order to maintain this stance of objectivity, Lacan suggests that the artist invites the viewers to forgo the gaze: ‘You want to see? Well take a look at this! He gives something for the eye to feed on, but he invites the person to whom this picture is presented to lay down his gaze there as one lays down ones weapons.’ This details a process that is not so much of the gaze, as that of the eye; an abandonment and pacification of the gaze that can be likened to MacCannell’s description of ego-mimetic tourism (MacCannell, 2002) or those described by Urry’s Tourist Gaze. Edensor (2000^a) provides a catalogue of how tourist spaces are structured to guide the gaze of the tourist away from confrontational encounters. Judd and Fainstain (1999) promote the constructions of such structures, referring to them as tourist bubbles: “the tourist bubble is like a theme park, in that it provides entertainment and excitement, with reassuringly clean and attractive surroundings” (Judd and Fainstein, 1999, p. 39). Likewise in the role of the post-tourist (Feifer, 1985), the fantasy of absolution is maintained through ironic distance, as the tourist, although being aware of the Gaze acts as if she is not, and thus despite the subversion at a conscious level the fantasy may be allowed to be maintained through the performance of the tourist – and it is here, at the level of performance (and the exploration of spaces for new ways of performance available through tourism) that we must place agency.

Limitations within this approach for the current project

Theoretical approaches that draw from psychoanalytical theory have a long-standing history of being used to inform social research projects. A branch of

social action known as psychosocial research draws from psychoanalytical practice to inform a methodology that seeks to be participant-led and able to ask new questions of participants and of the information they provide in the study beyond that conventionally allowed within other methodologies. Within tourism this approach was applied recently in a work by Crossley (2012) as part of her doctoral thesis on volunteer tourism. Using a psychosocial methodology she interviewed volunteer tourists as she travelled with them in rural Kenya. Through an approach that draws on Lacanian literature, she proposes that the poverty that the tourists experience during their stay becomes conceptualised as a threatening 'object', inducing unconscious anxiety by challenging the materialistic Western lifestyle and identity of the travellers. Notably, she is able to identify through her interviews that the tourists deal with this anxiety and thus neutralise the constructive potential of the encounters they have with rural people and their difficult lives. She identifies three ways that barriers can be created: through the transformation of poverty in a source of self redemption, by allowing poverty to become an exotic product that can be admired and consumed, and through the construction of the communities that suffer from poverty as "poor but happy". Here the use of psychosocial methodology allows Crossley to raise new critiques within the tourism experience that would otherwise be overlooked, and posit new critiques for volunteer tourism (just as I have sought to do above within nature tourism) with an empirical basis.

However, within the current study there are limitations in the ability to apply a similar approach. Where this methodology has been applied by Crossley and others, a longitudinal approach has been required to allow for an appropriate amount of time to interview the participants and to allow for the confrontations and coping mechanisms that may at first be hidden to be revealed in the experience of the participants. This approach has its roots in Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) seminal text *Doing Qualitative Research Differently* where an outline for conducting psychosocial research is provided. Here, the psychoanalytical concepts of 'free association' and the 'unconscious' are transplanted into a qualitative research approach to open up new ways of collecting and analyzing research data. Within the brief encounters of the current

study, it is both difficult to implement such a methodology from a practical standpoint, but also if a strategy was to take a longitudinal approach, the results that would be generated may not be an accurate representation of the reflective potential during a brief visit. Additionally, the current study attempts to be participant led, or at least attempts to avoid reproducing the current top down approaches that have led to public distrust, and so there are questions as to how appropriate a psychoanalytical approach may be. Indeed Frosh and Emerson (2005) explain this concern in response to the work of Hollway and Jefferson:

“Despite the assertions that psychoanalysis is ‘bottom up’ because it is rooted in, and continuously tested against, the discourse of individual participants in the analytic encounter, there can be little doubt that its primary thrust is ‘top down’. ... At its simplest, the unconscious is *always* ‘found’ in the discourse of a psychoanalytic subject; when applied to research, notions such as the ‘defended’ subject arise out of theory and are applied to material to make sense of it, rather than being genuinely emergent.” (p. 310)

In order to respond to this critique, in a newer edition Hollway and Jefferson (2010), suggest that the application of psychoanalytical theory is ‘discovered’ through experimentation and that these theories emerge from “a history of critical social theory in which rational unitary notions of the individual are subjected to detailed and extended critique” (p. 153). Here they seek to draw parallels to other fields of theory based qualitative research, but in doing so further align psychosocial methodologies with more top-down approaches. Additionally, the forms of critical social enquiry that have historically been found within the psychoanalytical discourse are empirically lacking (as appropriate empirical methods are not available to consider some psychoanalytical concepts) and have been closely guarded by a culture of exclusiveness as both training and therapy is prohibitively expensive. In order to expand on these limitations, and to develop a strategy that can be utilised within the current study, the discussion of this chapter will now turn to the critiques raised by Deleuze and Guattari towards the psychoanalytical method. Using their efforts to work beyond these limitations I will seek to build a methodology and analytical approach that

preserves the productive potential of the Hollway and Jefferson's work, whilst opening up the methodology to a greater degree of expression, rather than the limited expression (and thus repression) offered by psychoanalytical based approaches.

The limited potential of psychoanalytical based methodologies

"We will never ask what a book means, as signified or signifier; we will not look for anything to understand in it. We will ask what it functions with, in connection with what other things it does or does not transmit intensities, in which other multiplicities its own are inserted and metamorphosed, and with what bodies without organs it makes its own converge." (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004b, p. 4)

In order to move beyond the psychoanalytical methodologies and the theoretical approaches currently explored, I first wish to argue the limited potential within these approaches (or how they may construct an ineffective and limiting research approach) by drawing on the critique developed by Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their collective works. In *Anti-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus* (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004a and 2004b, respectively) they develop a response to psychoanalysis that they refer to as schizoanalysis, challenging the use of interpretation within the psychoanalytical therapy session, and arguing that rather than offering an opportunity for emancipation for the subject, psychoanalysis only reproduced the current conditions of domination seen within late capitalism. This critique on psychoanalysis develops from a limitation they see within the Oedipal theory that runs throughout psychoanalysis at a fundamental level. They thus develop a two pronged critique on this system both from within the system itself, arguing that this oedipal system goes against the true nature of the unconscious, and from outside of the system, showing the historical conditions that produced this system.

When referring of schizoanalysis, Deleuze and Guattari do not seek to romanticise the mentally ill. The term arises from its use in psychiatry and

represents one of two ways that capitalism was deemed to operate by Deleuze and Guattari (the other being paranoia). Within everyday life, the stability of Capital depended on the balance that remained within these two polar opposites, and thus for Deleuze and Guattari the revolutionary project sought to unbalance and explore the opportunities within the principles and dynamics of capitalist society. As with all of Deleuze's projects, his work seeks to push the current structures within society to their limits, and to explore the potential that may be exposed. In writing *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari adopt a schizophrenic style in their writing itself. The text seeks to not only inform and to reformulate an understanding of desire, but to function as a kind of 'desiring-machine' itself, to produce schizophrenic forms of desire in the reader. Broadly they seek to apply this concept of a machine throughout their work, asking what something can *do* and *how it works* rather than seeking to understand what something may mean through interpretation. The critique towards psychoanalysis is highly complex and extends throughout the two works published by the authors within the two volumes of their capitalism and schizophrenia work. I will now however attempt to summarise the key arguments relevant to the current work.

The internal critique of the oedipal system develops from approaches within Deleuze's previous work. Deleuze (1994) builds on Freud's model of repetition, presenting it as a materialist ontology where difference is shown to occur prior to the formation of any concept. Difference and multiplicity are thus the fundamental primary categories, and identity emerges secondary, rather than the other way around. Thus rather than a static subject, 'out there', they posit that the individual is a product of two preexisting categories – the productive synthesis (or what we may call desire) and the body-without-organs (the wide ranging map of this desire). This concept of the body without organs is key for Deleuze and Guattari, and is what we should be working towards to be truly free:

"The proportions of attraction and repulsions on the body-without-organs produce, starting from zero, a series of states... and the subject is born of each state in the series, is continually reborn of the following state that determines him at a given moment, consuming-consummating all these states that cause him

to be born and reborn (the lived state coming first, in relation to the subject that lives it)." (p. 20)

Thus according to Deleuze and Guattari, unlike the psychoanalytical system, they see an importance in confronting and tearing apart social structures rather than conforming to them. In positing the BwO, they reject a 'dictatorial' conception of the unconscious, and thus (according to Deleuze and Guattari) are able to achieve what was not possible within Lacanian Psychoanalysis, allowing for the formation of a subject who is: "a free man, irresponsible, solitary, joyous, finally able to say and do something simple in his own name, without asking permission; a desire lacking nothing, a flux that overcomes barriers and codes, a name that no longer designates any ego whatsoever" (2004a, p. 131). The BwO, a site of pure intensity and flux is what is aspired for.

The illegitimate use of the connective and disjunctive synthesis in Psychoanalysis

Within the context of this particular work I wish to draw Deleuze and Guattari's critique of the connective and disjunctive synthesis within Psychoanalysis. These critiques are two of five paralogisms identified by Deleuze and Guattari within their internal critique of the theory. The 'illegitimate use' that Deleuze and Guattari refer to is the way that psychoanalysis seeks to 'tame desire' through the process of interpretation. As Holland (2002) writes:

"The problem with free-association in conventional psychoanalysis is that it becomes subject to interpretation, to what Deleuze and Guattari call a process of 'forcing' whereby the polyvocal connections of truly free free-association gets bi-univocalised, reducing to the familiar litany of subjects, topics, and symbols: every woman is the mother, every aggression a parricide, anything concave or hollow a symbol of feminine 'lack', anything longer than it is wide a phallic symbol." (p. 45)

Here despite noting the potential value within the free-association technique, Deleuze and Guattari take issue with the interpretation that follows that can only be understood within fixed predetermined criteria that emerge from the Oedipal theory. Within traditional psychoanalysis this relates to the relationship with the Mother or Father, or within Lacanian Psychoanalysis this takes the form of the relationship to desire and the Symbolic. In the case of the latter, despite the advances made by Lacan, Deleuze and Guattari argue that the familial and symbolic versions of the Oedipus are indistinguishable. Within the current context, using a psychoanalytical led approach participant responses are reduced to interpretations that relate to 'lack' and their desire in relation to a theoretical framework based upon the Oedipus model. Although this model no longer refers to pseudoscientific analysis of the relationship between the father and mother and is based more broadly on a relationship to controlling power structures, all interpretations by the researcher can only relate to this relationship and participant autonomy is reduced. Additional problems are also present during the interpretation. Here, only a series of predetermined and fixed positions are available to the participant, instead of offering a series of open-ended unfixed possibilities within which the participant may identify and respond, thus illegitimately representing the BwO for Deleuze and Guattari. Again, this is best represented by Holland:

"...The nuclear family first of all restricts the possibilities to Mommy and Daddy, and then imposes an exclusive choice between them: you must either like Mommy or Daddy: not like anybody else (your uncle from America, your unemployed cousin, your grandmother in the hospital...) and not even like each of Mommy and Daddy in some respect yet different in others." (p. 72)

A degree of translation is needed to consider the application of this within the current context. Here it would mean that articulations by participants are either directed to repress or directly address 'lack' within predetermined terms (with the latter containing a narrow category of possible outcomes that could be considered 'successful'). All possibilities that fail to address lack within rules that are determined by the interviewer or researcher are considered to be

unsuccessful within the terms of psychoanalysis and identify barriers that need to be overcome in order to progress in a productive way.

Here there are clear limitations within this approach alongside a participant-led methodology. Despite working with participants and taking a more open-ended approach to interview technique and analysis, the analysis continues to be structured through a theoretical approach that is limiting and predetermined by categories and terms interpreted from the text by the researcher. Despite this, the previous exploration through psychoanalysis has identified a structural description of the relationship with nature that suggests a progressive potential. By again turning to Deleuze and Guattari and their work that sought to work beyond these issues with psychoanalysis I wish to continue to explore this potential in a way that can be better explored within the current study.

Schizoanalysis and becoming

I have already noted that Deleuze and Guattari found the potential within psychoanalysis to offer a truly revolutionary potential to its patients limiting. They argue that rather than opening up a door for emancipation, psychoanalysis only seeks to provide a new 'ruling' system that is both unavoidably forced on participants and is argued to be a part of the capitalist system it may seek to undermine. To work beyond these criticisms, Deleuze and Guattari propose a new focus on 'becoming' and their own approach of schizoanalysis. Throughout their collaborative project, Deleuze and Guattari make several references to the processes of 'becoming'. In order to avoid stagnation (and to continue their own processes of 'becoming') they continually reinvented and redefined terms that made reference to this process including rhizomatics, nomadology, micro politics and schizoanalysis. The latter is likely to be their best known and discussed terminology, appearing in their 'Capitalism and Schizophrenia' series that has been discussed on page 80. Despite a constant theme throughout *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari do not provide a framework for conducting schizoanalysis. However we are given an indication of how this process would appear:

“Destroy, destroy. The tasks of schizoanalysis goes by way of destruction – a whole scouring of the unconscious, a complete curettage. Destroy Oedipus, the illusion of the ego, the puppet of the superego, guilt, the law, castration. It is not a matter of pious destruction, such as those performed by psychoanalysis under the benevolent neutral eye of the analyst. For these are Hegel-style destruction, ways of conserving. How is it that the celebrated neutrality, and what psychoanalysis calls – dares to call – the disappearance or dissolution of the Oedipus complex, does not make us burst into laughter?” (2004a, pg. 311)

Fundamental to this process is one of the destruction of traditional norms and practices, allowing for the Subject to consider new ways of thinking and being in the world. However unlike the traditional psychoanalytical approach, Schizoanalysis seeks to avoid ‘re-territorialising’ these movements outside of the norm, or at least seeks to continue to maintain the possibility for new opportunities to be created through further movements in new directions. This process of destruction is referred to by Deleuze and Guattari as ‘deterritorialisation’. Outside of the norm and in this site of play, the Subject is able to take on some of the characteristics of the BwO (playing with identities, sexualities, becomings). It is however necessary to note that the BwO is not a goal to be attained, but rather a horizon of identity, or else the fear that the Subject will disappear forever within this site of pure intensity where reterritorialisation is impossible. Deleuze and Guattari thus seek to push for the formation of high intensity becomings where opportunities for flux and movement are available, but where deterritorialisation is not complete throwing the Subject into a black hole of zero intensity becomings.

It is now necessary to return to the current study to consider how this approach may be applied to a methodological framework for analysis and how it may differ from methodologies that draw on psychoanalytical theory (e.g. Psycho-social research). As I initially noted, Deleuze and Guattari see the importance in proposing the Subject as the result of a ‘desiring-machine’ and thus ask what something can do and how it works, rather than what something may mean. Thus the problems identified with interpretation are removed, and instead

interactions are formulated and recorded as what they can or may be able to *do*. As noted above, this potential to *do* is of key importance to Deleuze and Guattari, and through a utilisation of their use of intensities the different forms of possible *do-ing* (or becoming) are able to be recorded. The privileging of certain forms of becoming are removed, and no longer is *traversing the fantasy* of interest – as the fantasy of the researcher may be different from that of the participant. Instead, the methodology seeks to collect the potential movements within the interactions, exploring the possibilities that may emerge for the actors involved. The methodology becomes one of exploring the possibilities for *difference* in ways that do not seek to privilege the forms within which this difference may emerge. Thus it becomes possible to examine the ways that individuals may open up possibilities for think and act outside of the ‘norms, technologies, institutional arrangements and mythologies’ that are reproduced (Adler, 1989, p. 1371) and how the inherent disruptive nature of tourism to confront these norms (Edensor, 2000^a, 2007) can be explored.

Within the current work I borrow a number of terms from the work of Deleuze and of the collaborative projects of Deleuze and Guattari. I consider the ‘becomings’ offered in the sightseeing space and how these becomings relate to each other drawing on Deleuze and Guattari’s use of intensities. Before discussing how these ideas from Deleuze can be applied to an empirical research project, I will briefly discuss related ideas of non-representational/more-than-representational theory, positioning the current work within a related academic discourse that also seeks to move beyond meaning and representation and towards an exploration of ‘becoming’ and its potential.

Section 4: Landscape and More-than-Representational Theory

In this final section, I wish to move beyond the discussions of visibility and tie together conceptions of becoming and landscape through a discussion of work that explores landscape and non-representational theories. Landscape research has recently seen a growing of interest around notions such as ‘affect’, ‘embodiment’, ‘performance’ and ‘becoming’, work that has been situated within the still developing body of work dealing with non-representational or, the better suited title of ‘more-than-representational theories’, recognising the varied theories and approaches collected under this category. Lorimer, 2005, describes this work as that which explores, “how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions...which escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgment and ultimate representation” (p. 84). This approach argues for the need to adopt an approaches that “drain the life out of things” (Wylie, 2007, p. 163) to move beyond visibility and explore the creative potential that exists in uncertainty.

More-than-representational Theories

In the mid-1990s, non-representational theory emerged as a style of thinking – moving beyond representative descriptions of landscape to engage with embodiment and practice. The multiplicity of theories contained within this term has led to the title of ‘more-than-representational’ theories being introduced by Lorimer (2005, p. 83) as a category underwhich we may collect research that attempts to ‘cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds’. The ‘more-than’ title was suggested by Lorimer to avoid the negative connotations of the previous term, and avoid suggesting an antagonism towards previous ‘representational’ based theories. Others have rejected this nomenclature, arguing that a clean break is required from representationalist forms of theory (James, 2006), and to emphasise the shift in

focus (Simpson, 2010). The 'more-than' prefix is adopted in the current study to acknowledge that these theories do not reject representation, but rather seek to move beyond 'representationalism', to escape the monotony and conformity within the way social science is conducted. Rather than providing a critique, it asks us as researchers to also experiment, explore and be creative; acknowledging that we may not always have the answers to the problems we face.

More-than-representational work has been conducted within the fields of geography, performance studies, feminist studies, anthropology, science and technology studies, as well as of course, sociology and tourism. What unites the work of academics across this diverse selection of research fields, is their dissatisfaction with the privileging of the visual and instead a placing of emphasis on everyday life, the multiplicity of experience, and the drawing to attention of the corporeality of our bodies and way that they relate to the world within which they exist. On the visual, Thrift, 1996, saw that it can often "take precedence over lived experience, usually as a series of images or texts which a theorist contemplatively deconstructs, thus implicitly degrading practices" (p.4). This degrading practice of 'representationalism' has been argued to be fundamentally conservative in its analysis, reducing the potential within the analytical process itself to support an emancipatory politics (Lorimer 2005, p.83-85).

In thinking beyond the individual, and towards the processes that construct the individual (or Subject), this type of theory results in new ethical considerations. Given that more-than-representational theory strictly goes against the "classical human subject which is transparent, rational and continuous" (Thrift, 2007, p.14), questions of ethics move beyond asking concrete questions about what 'should' be done, to a conception of ethics as seen in the works of Deleuze or Spinoza, where an ethical act is considered as one which expands the possibility for further actions and creativity. We no longer consider the individual as separate from the world within which it moves/becomes, but rather the human body itself is a product of it's "unparalleled ability to co-evolve with things,

taking them in and adding them to different parts of the biological body to produce something which...resemble[s] a constantly evolving distribution of different hybrids with different reaches” (Thrift, 2007, p. 10).

It is this conception of the body that has lead to the work by theorists on affect and sensation. Drawing on work by Spinoza and Deleuze, research exploring these concepts has been conducted widely both in geography and the social sciences (e.g. Anderson 2006; Anderson and Harrison 2006; Bissell 2008; Clough 2007; Dewsbury 2000; Gumbrecht 2004; Massumi 2002; McCormack 2003; Stewart 2007; Thrift 2004). Here affect is understood not as an emotion or feeling, but continuing on from the interest in exploring beyond the individual, it is understood as a pre-personal moment for bodies that implies an increase or decrease in the capacity for them to act, do, become, be, etc. Affects are not done by or done to single bodies (be it the human body, the animal, the landscape or the post-human) but emerge as a result of activity between bodies: “they are relations that inspire the world” (Dewsbury, *et al.* 2002, p.439).

Landscapes of more-than-representation

This thesis has already discussed previous research interests into landscape that have focussed around unpacking landscape interpretation, exploring how sites can be gazed upon and ‘captured’. Recent, more-than-representational approaches acknowledge the limitation of representation in rendering landscapes that are themselves bodies and assemblages of bodies: capable of affecting, stimulating, doing, and becoming. More-than-representational approaches thus attempt to render a landscape that is associated with embodied practices, emphasising a landscape of sensory experiences beyond the visual, of touch, smell, taste, and atmosphere (Lorimer, 2005; Wylie, 2007; Larsen, 2008). Acknowledging these multiple facets of being in the landscape means that we need to not only understand how we think about the landscape – but how in turn the landscape has an impact on how we think (Waterton, 2012).

Within this framing, landscapes are not static lifeless scenes but are active processes in a continuous state of becoming. As bodies interact with the landscape new becomings emerge as new orientations of assemblages are formed. This concept has been explored by Crouch (2003, 2010) and Wylie (2007) who adopt the word 'landscaping' or 'spacing' to emphasise the on-going processes and mobility within landscape. In this conception, body and landscape are deeply intertwined, "both constitutive and constituting and always in a process (re)formation" (Waterton, 2012, p.70). This has led to the development of research methodologies/approaches that are able to capture this on-going process of becoming – leading to approaches that themselves include movement (i.e. walking; discussed on page 140).

The idea of knowing the surroundings 'through' the body and its actions has clear applications within tourism, where movement, play, and performance can be key aspects of touristic behaviour. Contemporary understandings that analyse tourism from this perspective understand the practice as situated and lived practice, mediated less by representations and discourses than by action and sensory engagement (Crouch, 2002). These approaches do not reject the role of representations in creating and maintaining the tourism space and their importance within it, but rather introduce 'new figures such as the body, emotions, spatial practice, interaction, performance, "things", technology (Söderström, 2005, p. 14) as necessary components if we are to fully understand tourist encounters and behaviors. Despite tourism appearing to be an easy bedfellow with 'post-representational' approaches, the power of structural context has continued to persist more strongly within Tourism Studies than in other related fields, such as cultural geography. The critical turn in tourism studies (noted by Bianchi, 2009) did lead to an exploration on the forms of power specifically with relation to the visual (and non-visual representation) of the Tourist Gaze. Arguing the need for an approach to tourism that goes beyond the visual to consider the multisensory experience of tourism; Edensor (2006) proposes that the image dominant culture of tourism experience be grounded in an account of embodied and performed practice. In Crouch and Desforges (2003) the sensory is discussed within tourism as a an opportunity to see where tourists

are able to 'work' constraining frameworks, re-arranging them and re-configuring them to meet their desires. They argue that to fully understand various 'dimensions and perspectives' of tourists; it is essential to consider a multisensory and embodied approach to studying tourism. They write: "the idea of the embodied does not turn away from the importance of contexts, of representations of events, activities or places, and the role of mediators in their construction. Instead it delivers these in new dimensions and perspectives' (p. 11).

Much work has attempted to take up the demand to 'go beyond the visual' and to consider the multisensory perspectives of tourism. However often in doing this, the notion of Gaze returns disembodied from the eye to the nose, ear, hand, etc. and the limits of representation are still present. Rosetto (2012) also offers a critique of attempts to 'go beyond the visual' through an emphasis on the performativity of tourism – the visual again returns as the visual *as performance* – allowing it once again to assert its dominance. More-than-representational approaches attempt to address this by establishing the notion of tourism as itself in a state of becoming – rejecting the reduction of tourists to mere recipients of stimuli.

Methodologies of becoming

Deleuzian thinking is having a significant impact recently on research in social science. Such approaches seek to break down binary oppositions such as those between research and practice, and science and artistic representation. Within theoretical domains, Deleuzian ideas have been explored in social, cultural and feminist theory (e.g. Colman, 2011; Munster, 2006; O'Sullivan, 2006), as well as in empirical research practice (Hickey-Moody and Malins, 2007; Masny and Cole, 2011; Ollson, 2009; McCormack, 2007; Latham and McCormack, 2009; Tamboukou, 2008; Jensen and Rødje, 2009). Colman and Ringrose (2013), link the emergence of these methodologies to a wider growing interest in social science that is capable of conceptualising the world as mobile, creative, and

affective (e.g. Busher, Urry and Witchger, 2010; Massumi, 2002; Orr, 2004, 2006), involved not only in providing a description of the world but taking an active role in creating new concepts and posing new questions (Law and Urry, 2004; Barad, 2007).

According to Lury and Wakeford, the possibility for a methodology to do this lies in its potential to be both specific and 'beyond' its situation. They argue that an 'inventive method' is one that is adapted to function within its specific use, but more importantly "oriented to making a difference" (2012, p. 11). The aim is thus not to conform to a preexisting theoretical framework or model, but in the creation of concepts that provide us with a new way of understanding (Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, p. 2) – to "bring more to the world" (Massumi, 2002, p.17).

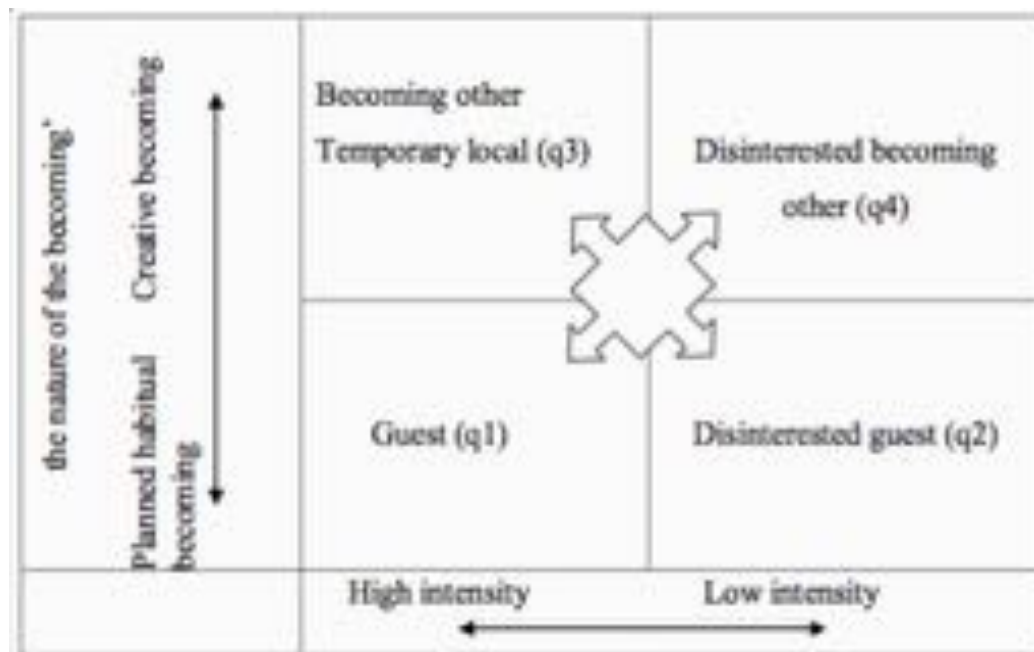
This project seeks to take this approach through the adaptation of the approach taken in Grit (2013, 2014). In both works, Grit adopts a Deleuzian approach in considering the creative potential within a hospitality space. An imaginary charting of the emergence of his method appears in Grit (2014), during a hyper-real visit to a museum. As he enters the museum, and begins to walk through the exhibits, he bemoans the territorialised and stratified, space - fixed in meaning and thus devoid of inspiration and interest. His mind wanders and he begins imagining his childhood but as these thoughts become too extreme, he finds himself surrounded by shocked museum staff and is forced out of the building. He concludes that the museum space was too stratified for deterritorialisations. Through a narrative of his experience within the hospitality setting and interactions with his friends at the site he starts to unpack the theoretical concepts that he seeks to add to the study of tourism. Drawing on Lofgren's (1999) concept of vacationing as a 'cultural laboratory', Grit seeks to explore the potential for the hospitality space to go beyond pre-given outcomes. Lofgren suggests that these will be spaces where:

"Reciprocal knowledge between tourists and locals might be created, stereotyped categories might be reinforced, or challenged and social networks might be unmade, remade, inverted or transformed." (p. 7).

Grit however considers this approach too utopian and potentially restricting as “the manual to reach this space is missing” (p. 128). To address this he proposes the concept of the ‘serendipity’ in its place, where it is not only important for the occurrences of these becomings but for the need of a “keen eye and a responsive attitude” (p. 133) allowing these ideas to unexpected events (or feelings, thoughts, etc.) to lead to new ideas (or ways of thinking, being, doing, etc.) By being open to the possibility of experiencing the serendipitous ‘eureka’ moment, Grit suggests that an untapped potential lies within hospitality – but this potential may only be exposed if we are looking for it and if the hospitality space welcomes it. The object that opens up this ‘line of flight’ (a term Grit borrows from Deleuze and Guattari) is referred to by Grit as the X-thing. In his account within the museum, the X-thing appears as a sign announcing auditions at the museum for role players. On seeing this, Grit enters the auditions and begins talking to new people. The roles of Guest and Host are disrupted, and Grit temporarily becomes one of the performers at the site. This disrupted, ‘untidy’ space is referred to by Grit in his concept of ‘Hospity’. A term imagined by Grit to allow him to create concepts to explore his thoughts. Here he seeks to follow a Deleuzian approach that privileges creativity, creating words, ideas and concepts to explain his thought and provide a platform from which these thoughts can be built upon.

These ideas are expanded as Grit (2012) analyses the home exchange programme. Here he explores the potential for creative becomings and identifies four possible directions for becoming that are plotted in terms of their intensity and their potentials for creativity. The horizontal axis of the framework represents the intensity of the becoming, and here signifies the force of the productive energy that flows between the bodies within the assemblages. Grit notes that connections between bodies always display a certain intensity, which he locates in connection with the vital force that define life for Deleuze. Here high intensity creative becomings allow the new assemblages to continually form and propagate, whereas low intensity creative becomings fall into a ‘black hole’ and are shut off from their ability to continue to form new assemblages.

Figure 6, Chart of potential becomings (from Grit, 2012)



Within quadrants 1 and 2 the becomings are planned and do not allow for creativity. High intensity becomings within these quadrants are exemplified by Grit within a skiing trip, where despite being enjoyable, the experience was predictable and the becomings failed to move beyond those that were both expected and preplanned.

These are contrasted to the low intensity becomings of quadrant 2 where the experience leads to a defined and mundane becoming. There is little excitement and little opportunity and encouragement to move beyond the boring. In both these quadrants the becomings are almost passive in contrast to those experienced in quadrants 3 and 4 which represent, following Deleuze, an ethical becoming. In both these quadrants the becoming is emphasised in its difference from quadrants 1 and 2 for its quality of 'becoming other'. Becomings identified in quadrant 3 are those that open up the possibility of a 'line of flight', a becoming that opens up new creative possibilities and formations of assemblages. Here, Grit expands on his concept of the X-thing as the required body needed for the new interactions to be formed. He explains that the X-thing functions as a key that allows new formations and assemblages to be unlocked,

as the emergence of this X-thing begins a quest for meaning. Here high intensity assemblages provoke the new formation of assemblages, constantly changing and repeatedly rearranging the bodies within an assemblage, allowing for new creative possibilities. In contrast, the formations of quadrant 4 represent the emergence of a 'black hole'. A creative formation where, despite opening up the potential for further possibilities, we are lead to a dead end. The formation is an escape, but one of destruction – a creative becoming that despite offering the opportunity for creative formations can lead to the destitution of the assemblage itself.

In this case, Grit uses his encounter with a mountain lion during a home exchange in Boulder to exemplify the X-thing:

"As soon as we entered the beautiful house we saw a note on the table which indicated that we had to start with watching a video tape. After finding out how the video worked we saw the host appearing in a local news show. He told a whole story about human entering the natural habitat of the mountain lion and that mountain lions were roaming through the creek on the property. He told the police that they set up a mountain lion watch in the neighbourhood and that mountain lions were dangerous, especially for young children. The host also left a letter in which he described all procedures how to handle a mountain lion. Don't run in the garden; don't use the outside terra; take care when coming home by car since there might be a mountain lion around the house. My first reaction was fear for the family and anger". (p. 220)

The entering of the mountain lion into the hospitality assemblage reorganises the roles of the bodies present. Grit experiences becoming other, as he 'becomes a local resident' in discussion of the lion with people in the town, 'becoming a lion spotter' as he gazes from the window of his accommodation in search for the escaped creature and 'becomes a hero' in discussion with his daughter on their plan should one of them be captured.

The current work now seeks to adapt this concept of the X-thing and of the Deleuzian concept of the assemblage to explore the possibilities of becoming other in the Mid-Wales landscape in the presence of the wind turbine. In discussing the results of the qualitative portion of the work, the potential for the wind turbine to function as the X-thing will be explored, by sorting and arranging the study data onto the framework based on the one provided by Grit. This allows for an analysis to be undertaken on the interactions observed during the field study, but also takes into consideration an ethics of research – as the research seeks to look outside of itself, and in a rejection of the status quo looks to discover cracks and opportunities for creativity that may emerge within the tourist space.

Research Questions

Drawing on this exploration of the literature, the current study will now attempt to explore the following research questions:

1. What are the potential impacts on visitor behavior from wind energy developments in Mid Wales?
2. How do people respond to wind energy developments in rural landscapes?
3. Is there potential within these encounters and through tourism to develop a response to the growing threat of climate change?
4. How can an approach for analysing impacts/responses be developed?
What are the issues with current methodologies and how can these issues be overcome?

Question 1 specifically addresses the goals highlighted by the partner institutions that fund the current project. With the Welsh government highlighting the need for greater wind energy development, partners of the current project have a stake in the potential impacts of such developments for the Mid Wales region. As an area highly dependent on tourism, any adverse impact on the sector could have adverse impacts on the region as a whole. This question links with Question 2, however the discussion becomes further opened up moving beyond 'impacts' to a wider consideration of the types and forms of responses that people may have to wind energy developments – whether positive, negative or indifferent. Moving beyond exploring the potential impacts, this question seeks to better understand how and why people respond to wind turbines in the way that they do.

Within question 3, the study seeks to move beyond these responses to begin to consider the productive potential of these encounters. More widely the study seeks to contribute to more critical developments within tourism that seek to

explore political emancipatory potential within tourism – taking this notion of tourism wider than the ‘tourism industry’, including the potential within the ‘sightseeing’ within everyday life.

Although questions 1-3 are highly linked, question 4 seeks to take a different direction and instead critically assess and reflect on the methodology that are used to obtain the data within this and other projects. Here the study seeks to build on the literature that has considered the current alienation that emerges from energy policy and current ‘engagement exercises’ and attempt to build a methodology that is truly engaging, participatory and inclusive – whilst still providing opportunities for collection of useful data.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Introduction

The following chapter details and analyses the research method employed in the current study. It will outline how these methodological approaches were arrived at, informed through philosophical considerations, and in response to the requirements of the research questions. The research process involved a personal philosophical journey for myself, as both my knowledge and perspectives changed throughout the project. Indeed, these changes occurred in response to conducting the research itself and through reflective analysis on the motives that existed behind the research questions. As time went on the methodological considerations I deemed appropriate became less concrete and explorative research became of greater interest. In addition to this chapter outlining the approaches and methodological considerations applied to answer the research questions, I wish this chapter to function as a critique of approaches that dominate the current literature, providing an empirical basis for the rejection of positivist/post-positivist research approaches and the need for exploratory, interpretivist and critical research. Through reflective practice, researchers are able to make sense of the uncertainty of their work – providing them with the ‘courage’ to work ethically practice as an activity in which we engage to explore our experiences and competently at the ‘edge of chaos’ (Ghaye, 2000, p.7). This widely used term is understood in the current work to represent the potential that reflection offers to develop new understandings and conceptualisations of both us and our practice (Boud *et al.* 1985; Boud and Fales, 1983; Mezirow, 1981, Jarvis, 1992). To do this the researcher is required to be self aware and critically evaluating of their work, highlighting the limitations within their approach that emerge from methodological and philosophical assumptions. Through critical reflection, unexamined judgments, interpretations, assumptions, and expectations can be acknowledge and incorporated into an analysis.

The work follows a multiphase approach, beginning with a quantitative study that emerges from a literature review and in response to the research questions, and later phase that follows a less structured approach in response to the initial phase and as an attempt to explore the research topic in a way previously not explored in the literature. These phases are then presented and explored in a process of crystallisation that seeks to unite these different approaches that would traditionally be considered incompatible.

Research through Crystallisation

It is not possible to write of a static epistemology within the current work. To adopt such an approach moves beyond Crotty's (1998) idea that prior to developing a research design epistemological and theoretical perspectives need to be detailed and established. Indeed to adopt such strict distinctions is counter productive to a methodology that seeks to develop (or 'become') alongside the research project. That is not to say that such concepts are to be ignored – but rather should be considered pragmatically in response to the form of enquiry.

Indeed at different points in the journey of writing this thesis I have adopted different frameworks and migrated to and adapted different approaches to thought. These migrations have emerged in response to the requirements of the project, as I struggled to engage with and attempt to answer the research questions (and as these research questions themselves changed in response to my own research objectives). To analyse the results obtained from this nomadic approach to epistemology, I wish to adopt a strategy of crystallisation (Ellingson, 2009). In Ellingson's approach, each epistemology and its related research methodologies are considered for both their merits and limitations and work in partnership with one another to offer complex explorations of the social world. This approach can fit within social constructionist and critical paradigms although attempting to give a fixed epistemology grounding is counter productive to the aims of crystallisation which seeks to open up the possibility to go beyond fixed frameworks of knowledge. Ellingson (2009) indicates that

“Crystallisation combines multiple forms of analyses and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematises its own construction, highlights researchers’ vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them” (2009, p.4).

Using multiple genres of research in one study

Through crystalisation, Ellingson aims to provide a path towards breaking the generic boundaries among epistemologies. This move is seen as the next stage in development beyond the interpretive turn in social science where creative forms of representation of qualitative findings emerged within social science research alongside the increasing positioning of traditionally positivist approaches with critical and social constructivist frameworks (Charmaz, 2005). This concept of crystalisation emerges from the work of sociologist Laurel Richardson who introduced the term in her essay, ‘Writing as a Method of Inquiry’. Richardson articulated the term as a capacity for writers to break out of traditional generic constraints in what she refers to as a “postmodern deconstruction of triangulation” (Richardson, 2000, p. 934). Through a partial understanding of the text under analysis a greater knowledge can be obtained with a greater sense of doubt in this understanding which may provoke further thought – as there is always more to know. She achieves this reading through an application of Deleuzian thought, claiming that the knowledge producing individual is both a site of discursive struggles for identity and remaking memory but also is subject to multiple and competing discourses that remain instable and unfixed. Richardson suggests that “knowing the self and knowing about the subject are intertwined” (p.962) and thus fitting in with poststructural thinking that invites reflection on methodologies and on the rejection of objective truths – and moreover leads to the argument that a phenomenon can be studied through more than one discourse.

While the concept of crystallisation is outlined and discussed with examples by Richardson (2000), it is not until Ellingson's work that we see a coherent framework that can be applied in social science research. Crystallisation is an approach available to scholars that are open to a wide range of methodologies, practices and perspectives as they seek to meet the demands of their research project. It builds on recent developments in qualitative research thinking through links between grounded theory and creative genres of research. It is however noted that the strategy is not compatible with strict positivism, although very few researchers would subscribe to this perspective, considering the impossibility of negating subjective influence (Atkinson, 2006). In this approach epistemologies are not seen as distinct positions but rather as moments on a continuum that runs from positivism (i.e. scientific realism) to radical interpretivism (i.e. representation as art). The opposition between science and art is thus removed and they are instead presented as 'anchor ends' of a continuum of research approaches. Science and art are thus not seen to negate one another as incompatible research strategies, but rather merely differ in some dimensions (Krieger, 1991).

This approach thus seeks to move beyond a dualistic conception of research approaches, to reveal a productive potential that values the productive qualities of both scientific and artistic approaches. Indeed Miller (2000), warns that categorisation of researchers and research has the potential to constrain thinking, as researchers seek to only regard questions that fit within their research category. Ellingson (2009) seeks to address this concern by positing a continuum approach to mapping qualitative research and thus moving beyond the status quo of dichotomous thinking. This continuum approach is adapted from Ellis's (2004) representation of the two ends of the qualitative continuum and features three main areas that have the potential for overlapping, blending and coexistence. These three areas however do not represent exact positions on the continuum, but rather reflect ideal types only and thus do not replace the art/science dichotomy with an equally rigid three-tier approach. Indeed Ellingson (2009) here reiterates Potter (1996) in suggesting that the terms that describe and classify qualitative research are themselves often inconsistent and

show variation themselves between disciplines, paradigms, and academic communities. These classifications thus represent possible positions that may be occupied by the researcher as they drift through the continuum during the research process. It is important to note however that these positions do not exist within a spatial framework, but can run alongside, and in opposition to one another both concurrently and in succession to one another, and may be likened to the notion of becoming discussed in the section 'methodologies of becoming' (page 91).

Within crystallisation representations are grouped within what is referred to by Ellingson as genres. Here she builds on a definition provided by Campbell and Jamieson (1995) who define a research genre as:

"Groups of discourses which share substantive, stylistic, and situational characteristics. Or, put differently, in the discourses that form a genre, similar substantive and stylistic strategies are used to encompass situations perceived as similar by the responding rhetors. A genre is a group of acts unified by a constellation of forms that recurs in each of its members. These forms, in isolation, appear in other discourses. What is distinctive about the acts in a genre is the recurrence of the forms together in a constellation." (p. 403).

Through this application of genre, different research approaches that may previously have been considered incompatible are able to function alongside and within one another. This approach emerges from a consideration of the unnaturalness of research categories that emerge from inductively derived knowledge from an existing discourse, and thus are only illuminating to the researcher to the extent permitted within the discourse (and indeed are only considered useful to the extent they are able to fulfill this duty) (Fisher, 1980). A multiple application of research genres allows for the researcher to think beyond preexisting boundaries within research approaches, through a collection of data that both exceeds the potentials of a single genre approach and problematises the boundaries of the genres themselves as they begin to bleed and transition into one another.

However the application of multiple methodologies does raise a number of issues that need to be considered. As Cugno and Thomas (2009), note the strength and weaknesses of crystalisation are as follows:

Table 1, Strengths and weaknesses of crystalisation

	Advantages	Disadvantages
1.	Provides deep, rich, thick descriptions	Not everyone is fluent in multiple genres
2.	Gives the reader multiple ways of understanding	It involves a trade-off between breadth and depth
3.	Reinforces the same experience in different forms	Lack of peer recognition as a viable methodological framework
4.	Pushes the envelope	Researchers must be open minded and willing to appreciate a wide-range of representation
5.	Gives the researcher a deeper level of understanding (pp. 15-16)	

Thus an approach that utilises one of crystalisation requires a researcher with an ability to engage with a multitude of research approaches and this may require greater time and research adapting one's research training to a breadth of different approaches. The lack of peer recognition is also problematic, as the current study investigates an area of knowledge that is lacking within the literature and the need for greater research is a pressing concern within both academia and for the government bodies that have funded the current project. As a piece of research that is greatly needed, it may be problematic that the results achieved from the current study will be incompatible to the prevailing discourse of research in this area (both within the discourses of tourism research and a wider discourse that encompasses research on public engagement of science). This will be addressed through clear signposting throughout and a clear discussion of the ideas that will be presented.

Principles of crystallisation

Following this discussion of the origins of crystallisation, it is now worth turning to a discussion of the principles of the methodology and the advantages such an approach can bring to a research project. These principles are developed from those outlined in Ellingson (2009, p. 10), which states that, the approach:

- Offers deep descriptions and complex interpretations of meanings about the subject of the research
- Represents the production of knowledge across multiple points of the qualitative continuum that has been described above, generally including one middle ground approach (e.g. post-positivist) and one interpretative (artistic, performative or creatively analytic).
- Includes one or more genre of writing
- Considers the researcher's role in the production of knowledge through research design, data collection and representation.
- Rejects claims of objectivity and embrace and celebrate the partial truths of knowledge as constructed, multiple, embodied and enmeshed in power relations.

The different ways of knowing above are likened to the structure of a crystal. Drawing on Richardson's (2000) text, Ellingson writes: "Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities *and* refract within themselves, creating different colours, patterns, and arrays, casting off in different directions" (via Richardson, 2000, p. 934). Without losing structure, crystallisation deconstructs the idea of validity, and proposes that texts validate themselves rather than a single truth. This crystallisation effect can only be achieved through the combination of multiple genres allowing for the refraction to take place. Through this we are able to achieve a complex, deep albeit thoroughly partial understanding of a topic. By definition crystallisation implies a state of solidity, clarity and lucidity ("to make or become definite or clear", Oxford English Dictionary, 2015). At first this may appear in contrast to the way the term is used within the current work, however, in rejecting the accessibility of a single truth – crystallisation brings clarity to the

limitations in one's knowledge (rather than providing clarity in a single and partial truth). As Richardson notes: "paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know" (1998, p. 358). We must then ask the question of what is considered a genre. Indeed, Ellis and Bochner (2000), note that generic boundaries between genres can often blur. Ellingson provides the example of a grounded theory approach that may discuss themes that could be considered to be in the same genre as text based on an ideological critique that draws on feminist theory. Both approaches could be considered within the 'report' genre of academic writing however she notes the significant differences between the two, as one borrows highly from philosophical concepts to deconstruct, whereas the other may lead more directly from the voices of its participants and reflect a greater empirical basis. A similar grey area can be seen within auto ethnographic and ethnographic writing, where the boundaries between the two may at times appear narrow. Thus when identifying genres of research, it is left to the preferences of the researcher to assign the boundaries of genres, with a clear emphasis that the goal is to emphasise the multiple ways of knowing with maximum potential for reflection within and amongst these genres.

As an emerging approach to study, the present literature is limited but the potential within the methodology has been noted for those conducting provocative and evocative research within organisational settings (Tallberg and Boyle, 2011), sociology (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) and communications (Richardson and St. Pierre, 2005). It has also been suggested that the approach may be especially relevant to tourism as it "is a multifaceted and multidisciplinary phenomenon" (Decrop, 2004, p. 166). Tobin and Begley (2003), respond to Richardson's rejection of triangulation, noting that this technique may often include more than the three required methodologies to 'triangulate'. However, in this view the main potential within crystallisation is lost, as focus is placed on the number and types of methods rather than the way data and the result is treated - not as a fixed point to be made clearer through greater approaches, but a result that can move and appear differently from varying approaches.

Integrated crystallisation

Ellingson posits two main types of crystallisation, integrated and dendritic. The current study utilises the former, but I wish to briefly explain the latter to make clear the distinction between the two approaches. Ellingson borrows the word *dendritic* from the Greek word for tree-like to conceptualise a project that continually branches out in patterned but unpredictable forms of representation that reflect the multiple epistemologies that may be applied. This former approach has greater similarity to Richardson's (2000) original concept of crystallisation. Dendritic crystallisation seeks to create a project with research output that reflects multiplicity through the development of an ongoing creative process. Here the research project could inspire the formation of new projects (dendritic branches), which split off asymmetrically into new theoretical territory, and in turn inspire the generation of new projects. Nevertheless, a degree of separation remains within these projects as they are adapted to reach their individual target audiences and for their specific publication outlets. In future work it may be interesting to pursue a dendritic course in research, however for the aims of the current study an integrated approach allows a multiplicity of research strategies to function alongside one another within the same thesis. Of course some dendritic elements will be required in the presentation of the research outcomes as presentation to a variety of audiences dictates the limit to the theoretical and empirical findings of the current work found within this text.

Within this thesis I seek to employ an approach that Ellingson refers to as integrated crystallisation, which she further divides into woven and patched approaches. Within a woven approach, research material is juxtaposed within the same text, presented alongside each other as a coherent single work of multiplicity. This creates a number of difficulties that are required to be overcome in order to achieve a coherent text. To illustrate this approach, she refers to Thorpe (2006), who writes of a participatory project she undertook caring for a garden with children from an under resourced primary school. In her research she allowed the participants of the project to "have their way with" her

(p. 117) rejecting a linear and clear account of her experiences allowing her to better represent the research process itself and the experiences that the Participants in the project wished to convey:

“I wish I could write a happily-ever-after story – a “comfort text” – for these are children with basic needs going unmet. These are children with little or no access to fresh, nutritious food. Not to mention love and attention, literacy and health care, clean water, security and safety. It is a profusion of needs. Overwhelming, ever present. There is little comfort to be found... And so I deal with this excessive otherness that defies all analysis and representations with messy texts, polyvocality, poetry, and performance ethnography.” (p. 125).

Table 2, A selection from Ellingson’s qualitative continuum (2009 p. 8)

Paradigm	Inductive	Post positivistic	Positivist
Focus	Art/impressionist	Middle ground approaches	Science/realist
Goals	To unravel accepted truth	To generate description and understanding	To generalise to larger population
Questions	How can we cope with life? What other ways can we imagine?	How do participants understand their world?	What is the relationship among factors?
Methods	Auto ethnography interactive interviewing, visual arts, performance	Grounded theory, focus groups, semi structured interviewing	Surveys, structured interviews
Researcher	Researcher as much the focus of research as other participants	Researchers positionality is key to forming findings	Researcher is presented as irrelevant to results
Vocabularies	Inductive, personal, improvisation, experience, creativity	Social constructivist, themes, thick description	Measurements, control, validity and theory driven

Within the text photographs, field notes, poems and sections of texts written by the researcher are jumbled together. The interruptions they create present a text that allows the reader to better grasp the journey of the researcher and the study participants, but also emphasises the inaccessibility of easy answers to the problems that the text seeks to attempt to explore.

I seek to adopt an approach identified by Ellingson as 'patched crystallisation'. Unlike the previously explained woven crystallisation, this approach produces text that offer a succession of juxtaposed genres that combine to form a one larger text. This approach is compared to the process of creating a sampler quilt, where each block of varying sized is pieced together to create a larger distinct pattern. Each block has its own distinctness, it's own features that make it interesting but it still needs to fit in around its surrounding blocks in order to create a quilt that is attractive. To translate this metaphor, Ellingson suggests that each of the genres discussed should be stylistically distinct and 'have a flavor of its own that dominates despite the commonalities among genres in the text' (Ellingson, p.112). The current text adopts three genres in an approach that can be rooted in Ellingson's patched crystallisation. These three genres can be placed at varying points on Ellingson's Qualitative Continuum. These three ways of knowing the research topic are described below, separated into the three genre that make up the current work. Genre 1 relates to the initial phase of the experimental study, where respondents were consulted on their perception of the proposed wind energy development at Nant Yr Moch. This approach is very much led by the initial requirements from the project from funding partners. Genre 2 relates to the more theoretical approaches explored within the work and includes the analysis of the current literature relating to the project. Genre 3 relates to the second experimental phase where data gained from interviews are discussed to explore the possibilities for new sensations and ways of thinking for both the tourists I spoke to, and myself as a researcher.

This chapter will now continue in a discussion of the two main research strategies employed within the current work - survey and semi structured interview, and participant led conversations.

Table 3, The three genre explored within the current study

Genre	Genre 1 Representative dimension	Genre 2 Theoretical dimension	Genre 3 Dimension of becoming
Focus	Perceptions and responses to photo elicitation and survey questions.	Relates to the theoretical basis of the work, exploring and overcoming the limits of the current literature	Focuses on the potentialities of becoming, which processes underlie creative becomings and how these lead to new connections and sensations.
Link to relevant sections of the literature review	Section 1, 2 and 5	Sections 2, 3 and 4	Section 3 and 4
Research goals for the genre	To generate description and understanding in a meaningful form	To generate a theoretical basis for the current work	Identify processes of becoming in sightseeing
Research question for the genre	How do tourists respond to wind energy technology and what are the perceived impacts on visiting?	Is there a theoretical potential for tourism to play a part in a climate change mitigation strategy?	Which processes underlie the sightseeing event?
Research strategy	Survey and semi-structured interview	Theoretical study/desk work	Unstructured conversations
Data collection	Survey and field notes	N/a	Recording of interactions
Analysis	Quantitative analysis with interviews	N/a	Interpretive analytical analysis
Writing style	Personal analysis	Literature review and analysis	Use of participant's and author's words

Applied methodologies in this work

Genre 1: Survey and semi-structured interview (representative dimension)

A questionnaire was distributed to participants at three sites in Mid Wales during July and August 2012. In total, 152 surveys were conducted with visitors with an additional 15.1 hours of interview material also recorded. The questionnaire sought to collect data on the participant's initial responses to information on the planned development at Nant Yr Arian, as well as exploring potential for shared competences between the tourism and renewable energy sectors. The questions within the survey sought to build upon previous research that has been undertaken in the literature. This initial section will seek to explore the development of the survey led approach initially through the rejection of alternative processes applied elsewhere in the literature. Through the use of a survey, this approach sought to collect data to address research question 1, the potential impact on visitor behavior (through questions that explicitly sought to understand if the development would make visitors return more or less often) and research question 2, the general responses of individuals to wind turbines and compared to other renewable and non renewable developments.

Rejected Approaches

Initial techniques sought to study impacts of renewable energy developments in economic terms, i.e. impacts of wind energy developments on the tourism economies of Mid-Wales. A number of approaches were considered and tested before being rendered either unreliable or lacking an appropriate robustness. In order to develop a research methodology with greater reliability, impact was assessed in the terms of the visitor experience – and thus a questionnaire was designed to target this rather than visitor expenditure. A number of previous studies have adopted the latter economic valuation method and so before

considering the current methodology it is useful to discuss previously applied methodologies and their reasons for rejection in the current work.

a. Contingent valuation techniques

As the wind energy projects that are under analysis in the current study have yet to begin construction, market price analysis was found to not provide an adequate methodological solution.

Likewise, through the use of the hedonic pricing method, analysis would need to be based on either data from a current wind farm project in Wales, or data obtained from a project elsewhere such as Navarra, Spain. In both these situations, criticisms may be raised respectively on both the applicability of the research on the tourism economy in Wales due to the unique nature of the proposed developments (in terms of both size and impact on transport infrastructure) and the uniqueness of the Welsh tourism product.

Studies that have implemented this technique have used known costs to assess public compliance. In this study, such costs (or economics impacts) are not known and so estimates would have to be generated and used for referendum questions. The real life applicability of such estimates is questionable. This technique also is not without its critics. A number of studies have compared both open-ended and referendum CV responses (Bishop *et al.*, 1983; Sellar *et al.*, 1985; Kealy and Turner, 1993; etc.), with most finding WTP estimates based on a referendum method 1.5 to 4 times greater than those based on open-ended CV research. Neill *et al.*, (1994) compared WTP estimates in hypothetical open-ended CV studies with real life transactions and found that estimates were significantly greater than their real life counterparts. Considering both these findings suggests that referendum CV does not offer a more reliable alternative.

b. choice-model techniques

To address these concerns a choice method design was initially considered. This approach combines the characteristics theory of value (Lancaster, 1966) and the random utility theory (McFadden, 1974) and has a track record of use in an environmental capacity (Adamowicz *et al.*, 1995; Boxall *et al.*, 1995; Hanley *et al.*, 1998; etc.). This methodology is based on the assumption that consumers derive utility from the different properties that the good possesses rather than a value in the good intrinsically. These properties or characteristics are assumed to provide a service to the individual (Lancaster, 1966) either singly or in combination.

However, a number of complicated facets to this methodology resulted in this approach being rejected in favour of a less complex and more useful approach. The choice-model technique requires the development of hypothetical scenarios presented as images to the participants and seeks to evaluate the impact of each of the features in these scenarios (e.g. number of turbines present, proximity, etc.). The need to present multiple images would have necessitated an online questionnaire, in this case, that randomised the presentation of images.

In addition to this, further complications would arise in obtaining a database of individuals to contact for the online questionnaire to ensure adequate response rate. Although interesting, it was deemed that this approach would have little practical use to the current study which seeks to analyse the impact of proposed developments (of an already fixed size and proximity) rather than influencing future decisions and so a more exploratory study was constructed, speaking to tourists *in-situ* to access their responses to photomontage images of the proposed developments and to explore the potential for shared competencies between the tourism and renewable sectors.

Developing the survey

a. introduction

The survey was designed to gain an understanding of Ceredigion visitor's views on wind energy technology and how they perceive that the proposed developments in Mid Wales will impact on their visiting habits. The survey functioned as an initial attempt to address the primary research question, building on the preexisting research within the literature. The survey approach utilised an electronic survey that was delivered in person using tablet computers. By doing this, the benefits of using an Internet survey could be taken advantage of, whilst the negative features of such a survey (such as reliability concerns and response rates) were minimised. I will now discuss the development of this approach, first exploring the background literature of this research technique before discussing its previous application and the application within the current study.

b. Computer based surveys

The use of web based surveys has been a growing trend in the previous two decades, and has been shown to be highly successful in conducting research, especially in cases where the target population regularly use the Internet in their daily life (Couper, Traugott, & Lamias, 2001; Sills & Song, 2002; Van Selm & Jankowski, 2006; Veal, 2006). In these cases, it has been found to produce better results and higher response rates than using traditional forms of research (Schaefer & Dillman, 1998; Sills & Song, 2002). However, the use of web-based surveys has a number of issues. Firstly, the open nature of the survey means that often anyone who has access to the Internet has the ability to take part in the study, regardless of his or her suitability for the research sample (Kaye and Johnson, 1999). The remote researcher is not able to filter out ineligible participants prior to data collection, and these ineligible participants may become hidden within the research data or may not be detectable. Bertot and

McClure, (1996) suggest that a password be used to ensure that only those that the survey is intended for have access to the questionnaire, however this only allows preexisting contacts to be asked to take part in the study and prevents new participants, who may have a stake in the research, being recruited. Indeed, this approach favors an approach that does not aspire for any reflexivity and is thus not compatible with the current project that aspires for a participant led approach. Other researchers have also noted problems with the consistency of the medium of delivery of the research survey, problems with mail systems detecting the surveys as junk mail and issues with respondent anonymity (Sheehan and McMillan, 1999; Sills and Song, 2002; Veal, 2006). The lack of researcher presence during the interview can be seen as both a strength and weakness of web based surveys. In the current study where details of the work can be provided by the researcher, this was considered to be a weakness.

Some of these weaknesses can be addressed by utilising a face-to-face approach rather than an online survey. Indeed, research has identified that face-to-face surveys produce results that are more representative and less affected by sampling bias than both online surveys and telephone based surveys (Szolnoki and Hoffmann, 2013). Sampling bias in online surveys was also noted by Terhanian, 2003, where their use was found to have a significant impact on the gender proportions represented in the study. Online surveys have also been noted to have an increased nonresponse rate (and a greater selection of 'don't know' responses) (Heerwegh and Loosveldt, 2008) however this has also been disputed (H. Lindhjem and Navrud, 2011) and attributed to the sample sizes of the former study (Szolnoki and Hoffmann, 2013). Although potentially an advantage, the presence of the researcher in face-to-face interviews has also been noted as a disadvantage when compared to online research where participants have been noted to be effected to a greater degree of social desirability bias (Duffy *et al.*, 2005) especially where questions have addressed sensitive subject matter.

A synthesis of both face-to-face interviews and online surveys can now be attempted through the utilisation of modern tablet devices (Apple iPads). The

device has been well received by the research community with New Media Consortium's Director of Research, Keene Haywood noting that the iPad was the perfect mobile field device (2010) and Duke University recently set up plans to equip students with the device to allow for greater efficiency in data collection (Schaffhauser, 2010). However, as a fairly recent technological development there is little material within the academic literature on the use of tablet computers in research. Jones and Sinclair (2011), and Bhaskaran (2010), however note the effectiveness of the device within a research setting (referring specifically to iPads). This preliminary research identifies an increase in interest in the study due to the novel factor the device provides, however some participants were unfamiliar with the workings of the device and so assistance was required. The current study seeks to build on these initial findings and develop a new case study on the use of tablet computers within research. Through the use of a web based platform a degree of interactivity will be present, with the research survey and results able to be updated in real time allowing for real time analysis of results to be undertaken automatically. Within this study I wish to address the weaknesses found in both face-to-face methods and online surveys through a synthesis that finds its resolution in the use of tablet computers to conduct face-to-face interviews. This approach does not address all weaknesses of either approach, but creates a strategy that combines the strengths of both online and face-to-face interviews. Reliability concerns with face-to-face approaches will also be considered and accounted for.

I attempted to mitigate for the weaknesses of web based survey techniques whilst preserving their strengths through the development of an html app based questionnaire design. Using the web based Bristol Online Surveys (BOS) tool I developed a questionnaire. This questionnaire was then accessed during the study through two Apple iPads and given to participants (as in a conventional paper based survey). The responses provided by the participants were automatically added to an online database that recorded the results of the study and produced real time analysis of findings. This meant that when conducting the pilot section of the study, it was noted that some questions were continually skipped by participants (those asking them to quantify their change in behavior

in response to the turbine). By being aware of this, during the same session I was able to ask why this section was repeatedly skipped and discovered that participants found it difficult to provide an answer. This revelation led to alternative ideas being tested in-situ and eventually resulted in this question being removed from the final survey. Through this approach the benefits offered by real time analysis found in web based interviews and time saving as data entry is greatly reduced was preserved, whilst the benefits of one-to-one attention offered by face-to-face surveying.

The questionnaire was made up of four sections and sought to address research questions 1 and 2. The initial section informed the participants of the study, the background to the project and how the data would be used. Full contact details were provided and participants were informed that they could remove themselves from the study at any point. On agreeing to these terms by pressing a button, participants were presented with the second section (and first section of the survey). Here multiple-choice questions were presented to the participant, collecting demographic data on the participant's age, profession and place of residence.

The next section presents participants with questions on their visiting behavior. They are first asked details on their current visit (e.g. who they are visiting with and for how long etc.) allowing the data to be segmented during analysis and for an analysis to consider the potential impacts on different visitor groups. The participants were then asked questions on the visitor experience, some building on questions asked in previous research from the literature. First participants noted their main reason for visiting Wales, allowing comparisons to be made on pull factors that attract tourists to the region (p. 34) and attitudes towards wind energy. They then rated the attractiveness of current visitor attractions in the region and their likelihood of visiting (an adapted version of the question asked in Hanley and Nevin, 1999); and assessed the potential impacts of a number of potential industrial developments and if they enhance, detract, or have no impact on their visit (an adapted version of the question used within Riddington *et al*). This provided an indication of the sorts of attractions interesting to the visitor

and allows us to consider how tourist desire compares to the destination environment (p. 35) pull factors that may be on offer through a wind energy visitor attraction. This approach also allows comparisons to be undertaken between the impacts of wind energy developments and other forms of land use. This latter result was deemed to be particularly interesting to the funding partners in the current study.

The final section of the questionnaire displayed an image to the participant relevant to the location where the survey was conducted (e.g. at the survey site in Aberystwyth a photomontage of the proposed turbine development as viewed from the town), and participants were asked to evaluate the consequent impact on their visiting behavior (Figure 7). They were also asked to rate their interest in visiting an attraction built around a wind turbine facility. The images that were presented to participants were provided by the developers of the proposed turbine development in Nant Yr Arian.

Figure 7, Example of photomontage used in survey, showing before and after images of the development.



The effectiveness of this approach is discussed on page 136 where the potential problems that may arise, in terms of reliability and community alienation, from using this source are discussed. The use of tablet computers however allowed participants to zoom in and interact with the image that was presented which proved particularly useful, as the turbines often appeared very small in the images. This final section was then followed by a semi-structured interview that helped to provide context for the answers obtained in the survey.

In qualitative research, the location where interviews are conducted can have implications on the sorts of data that can be collected. Elwood and Martin note 'microgeographies of interview locations situate a participant with respect to other actors and to his or her own multiple identities and roles, affecting information that is communicated in the interview as well as power dynamics of the interview itself' (2000). For example, in a work environment the interviewee may take on the role of the 'official', where as in another setting, for example at home they may become the 'parent'. In each instance different topics may be met with guarded responses, whilst others may be met with more enthusiasm.

Location can also play a part in the relationship between interviewer and participant, with sites influencing how the interviewer and the research may be perceived (for example, interviews conducted in the researcher's lab may add legitimacy to the study but may make participants become more guarded). The current study sought to interview visitors to Mid Wales *in situ* in order ensure participants that were recruited to the study were genuine visitors to the specific areas of interest and to allow participants to consider the impact of the proposed developments in a way that is less abstract. That is not to say that this nullifies any environmental impacts, and indeed the perception that the interviewee has of me as a researcher may impact on the information that they consider to be valuable or safe to provide.

Three sample sites were chosen as locations for conducting the survey. These sites were selected on their suitability for the survey: a suitable number of visitors passed through the site, availability of mobile phone signal to connect to the internet, and a corresponding photomontage being available. Multiple sites were selected in order to avoid sampling bias that may result as a product of

using a single site (i.e. sampling visitors only at Aberystwyth Town Centre may mean that some visitors, such as those only visiting for a day to take part in an activity and who do not visit that town, would be missed from the survey). The use of a single site could favour certain 'types' of visitors over others and so potentially failing to include key visitor 'types' from being included in the study. For example, visitors to Aberystwyth may be more interested in sightseeing and spending time at the beach – but visitors more interested in walking, and natural landscapes may be under-represented or entirely missed due. Due to this, the three sites were selected to represent three key attractions in the area – representing a hotel and visitor attraction popular with tourists, a popular site for walking, cycling and day visits, and a tourist information centre:

Bwlch Nant yr Arian Visitor Centre

Bwlch Nant yr Arian is found within the Cambrian Mountains, approximately 10 miles east of Aberystwyth. The visitor centre contains a café and seating area for visitors, as well as a shop that sells craft souvenirs and memorabilia featuring fauna found in the surrounding area. Visitors are drawn to the site for the availability of cycling routes and walking paths that weave through the countryside. Every afternoon the Red Kites are fed and people gather to watch the birds circle the lake. On entering the centre and in view of the lake, mountains partially obscure a current wind turbine development. Interviews were conducted with visitors inside the café and on the benches outside of the visitor centre. The distance to the nearest turbine in the planned development at Nant yr Moch is 4.782km.

Hafod Hotel, Devils Bridge

The Hafod Hotel is located approximately twenty minutes drive from Aberystwyth and can be found in the centre of the popular tourist attraction of Devils Bridge, overlooking a waterfall that has attracted visitors for several hundred years. Originally built as a hunting lodge in the 1700s, the hotel features 16 bedrooms, a tearoom and a restaurant and is attached to a pub. Tourists visit the hotel to enjoy a break after taking the 45 minute walk that leads around the famous waterfalls. The survey was conducted inside the hotel, in a room

positioned next to the tearooms. Visitors were approached inside and outside the hotel and asked to take part in the study if available. The distance to the nearest turbine in the planned development at Nant yr Moch is 7.962km.

Aberystwyth Tourist Information Centre

The TIC is found within the centre of Aberystwyth town close to the sea front. The centre is attached to a museum that has an exhibit on the history of the town. Visitors were approached on entering the TIC and asked to participate in the study. They were then taken to a seating area where the interviews were conducted. The distance to the nearest turbine in the planned development at Nant yr Moch is 13.429km.

Response rate was fairly high at both the Tourist Information Centre and Hafod Hotel, with a lower response rate at Nant Yr Arian Visitor Centre. This is likely due to a result of the way respondents were approached whilst in the café, where some may not consider that enough time was available to participate in the study whilst waiting for food or purchasing a coffee before leaving the area. The research may have had greater impact here than realised as despite previous support for the project from management at the visitor centre, towards the end of the project they expressed greater concern for the impact on visitors of the site and a concern that the research was disturbing them whilst they enjoyed the facilities in the café. Despite this concern there was no indication that this was the case when conducting the research and despite some anger expressed towards the subject matter of the study by some participants and suspicions raised on the agenda of the study, the majority appeared to be supportive.

Piloting the study

Following the development of the questionnaire, a three week pilot study was undertaken at the three sample sites. Ten pilot surveys/interviews were conducted at each sample site. Visitors were approached and were asked to take part in the study. The full procedure was followed.

During this pilot, it was found that more participants might find difficulty in using the tablet computer than expected and so required supervision when using the device. This did mean that more time was required with each participant and was estimated to impact on the time required to conduct the study. A number of copies of the questionnaire were also printed off in the study to allow any participants who preferred not to use the tablet computers to take part in the study. No participants ended up using paper surveys over the tablet computers in the final survey. Internet connectivity issues also emerged, as public Wi-Fi hotspots proved to be unreliable in the field. A portable Wi-Fi hotspot device was purchased to address this.

The question utilising a photomontage of the proposed wind energy developments was also modified, and a section asking participants to quantify the impact of the development on their visiting habits was removed. During the pilot it was found that this section was too difficult for participants, and they found it difficult to produce a meaningful quantified response to the impact of the development on how often or for how long they would visit the area. A more meaningful response was found when participants were asked if they would visit 'less often', 'more often', or 'the same'. No further changes were made and the questionnaire otherwise operated as intended.

Reliability and Validity

This approach identified a number of issues with the use of tablet computers during interviews. These are discussed in an evaluation following the results portion of the relative section of the thesis. In addition, some issues were identified prior to the work in the field that prompted the creation of strategies to mitigate their impact on the effectiveness of the research method. It was understood that some participants may find it difficult to use the technology and so it was essential that help and support was available throughout the interview. To allow for this the number of participants interviewed at any one time was

kept to a maximum of 2. Prior to undertaking the research, it was considered if it would be beneficial to hire support researchers to assist in collecting data for the questionnaire, however this was rejected due to budget constraints and to ensure homogeneity in the research approach. However, as a result of this the potential sample size of the study was reduced.

As a convenience sampling strategy was applied, sample size was limited to the amount of people that could be approach within the time frame of the study. Within this approach a non-probability sampling strategy is used, where participants are selected on their basis of accessibility to the researcher. It was acknowledged that it might be difficult to sample a large enough number of participants in order to generate a sample that proportionately represented all visitor types (day visitors, those with holiday homes, etc.) as well as over demographic categorisation. This form of sampling also allowed for a reduction in the cost and time for the study, and allowed me to take advantage of all those that expressed an interest in taking part in the study (during what is for them, a holiday). This type of sampling proved to be the most resourceful way to gather useful data and information without preexisting information on all those due to visit the area (or previous visitors with contact information and transport facilities to conduct face to face interviews). Due to the use of this sampling approach, there are limited applications for generalisation of the results, and potential reliability issues need to be considered during analysis.

In terms of validity of the study, convenience sampling can lead to over or under representation of some of the groups within the sample. This may emerge as a product of the sampling procedure itself, as preference in taking part in the survey may vary across groups. This is especially true on a polarising topic like wind energy. In an effort to avoid this, participants were approached and firstly asked if they would like to take part in a study on their visit to Mid Wales. After agreeing in principle, and when positioned in front of the questionnaire, I then disclosed that the study would be particularly interested in renewable energies and their visiting behavior. They were informed that they could refuse to take part at any time and withdraw from the study. In no cases did a participant at

this point not proceed. Other biases may be expressed in the choice of the location themselves, with some locations being more welcoming to particular sub groups within the sample (e.g. some areas may be less female friendly, certain visitors with a particular visiting preference, etc.). It is necessary to consider these details on analysis if notable differences emerge between visitor preferences and their visiting intention, and how bias within the sample may skew an overall evaluation.

Initially a questionnaire was designed to target visitors to the region, however it soon became apparent that defining a visitor would be difficult due to the prevalence of holiday homes and temporary residents. Additionally, the tourist economy's reliance on these groups further suggested the arbitrariness of this distinction in public. The questionnaire was redesigned to remove the binary opposition between resident and tourist, and instead of rejecting some of those approached to take part in the study, it collected data on the participant's relationship to the region through their length of stay and relative behaviour in supporting the tourist economy. Despite this fluidity in sampling, care was taken to ensure a wide demographic was sampled that was both representative of the visitor populations typically expressed in the literature and would provide results that are representative of a wide demographic of potential visitors to the region.

There were also limitations present within the use of the technology on the tablet computers. As a fairly new approach to research, there were few resources available that are dedicated to the development of iPad based questionnaires. Previous studies have utilised Google Docs or iPad specific apps (Jones and Sinclair, 2011). Google Docs is an open source platform that allows for the development of forms that allows for user values to be entered. However, although free the software is limited in its capability and does not have native support for tablet computer use. The use of iPad specific apps allow for greater interactivity but can only be utilised via the tablet computers (if there is an issue with the tablet computer a laptop backup cannot be used to continue the survey work) and may have issues exporting data, compatibility issues and may be unable to handle robust analysis. To address these issues a purpose built web

based survey programme was used to create the questionnaire. Due to a preexisting agreement between Aberystwyth University and Bristol Online Surveys this programme was chosen. It offers a degree of creative questionnaire design but is not as robust as more expensive packages (e.g. Qualtrics). The survey was designed via the BOS website and then the questionnaires were accessed using the web explorer on the iPads. The website automatically scaled the questionnaire for the smaller iPad screen and was compatible with gestures and touch control allowing participants to zoom in on the images and to tick the boxes on the screen. The questionnaire entries were then automatically included in an online database. This online requirement for the questionnaire was addressed through the use of a wireless 3G router that connected to the tablet computers via Wi-Fi. Despite this the site selection for the study remained limited by the strength of the network coverage at the study site. For future work it may be beneficial to pursue contemporary coding strategies that allow for iOS based apps to be developed from html code – thus allowing for the creation of an offline version of the questionnaire that could upload the data after a secure Internet connection is achieved.

Contextualising the data

In order to provide context to the data obtained during the questionnaires a brief semi structured interview was conducted with participants after they completed the survey. These interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants and provide a rich source of data that can allow for a greater understanding of the results obtained in the first section of the survey. Indeed, as Bryman (2008), notes, semi-structured interviews provide rich, detailed answers and allow the interviewees perspective on the topics discussed to come through clearly. The use of semi-structured interviews contrasted with the approach of Genre 1 where instead of specific questions on defined and narrow topics, more general questions were asked, highlighting the topics to be discussed in the interview. Participants were free to take up the lead offered to them and bring up issues that are relevant to them in response to the initial survey section.

This approach can be likened more closely to traditional triangulation and mixed method approaches than the concept of crystallisation employed in the overall study (on page 100). Mixed methods are distinct from multimethod approaches as they require the utilisation of both qualitative and quantitative approaches to generate reliable results, with the later using multiple methods of a single research epistemology (e.g. multiple quantitative methodologies) (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Despite the greater degree of openness within mixed method approaches, interpretation of results is still confined to an epistemology of positivism (supported through qualitative evidence that may require a degree of interpretation). A definition of mixed methods has been provided by Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007):

“mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration”. (p. 118)

Despite the potential suggested within mixed methods to break down barriers between the different ways of conducting research, some have argued that it merely reinforces difference. Giddings (2006) argues that “the use of the terms ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ as normative descriptors reinforces their binary positioning, effectively marginalising the methodological diversity within them” (p. 165) and reinforcing the dominance of the positivist discourse. She adds:

“Mixing methods is wrong, not because methods should be kept separate but because they should not have been divided at the outset” (p.1)

In order to begin to break down these barriers, and the further barriers between positivist/interpretivist and research of creation/discovery the methodology of crystallisation is utilised throughout the current work.

Within the current genre, participants in the semi-structured interviews were asked four main questions:

1. What makes you consider a landscape to be aesthetically pleasing? What features do you find attractive? How does this effect your 'use' of the landscape as a visitor?
2. How aware are you of current climate change science and renewable energy? Are you interested? How do you find out your information? Does this effect your actions?
3. How do you think the construction of a wind farm project such as the in the images could impact the experience for tourists? Both positive and negative impacts?
4. How do you consider your overall experience in Mid Wales as a destination? What will you remember from your visit and tell others?

The questions sought to further explore the impacts of wind energy on the experience of the landscape for the visitor and functioned as a preliminary investigation into the potential benefits offered in the experience. This latter enquiry is the subject of further study in Sections 3 and 4 of the literature review. This semi-structured interview section aspired to be one where the participant would be able to feedback to the researcher on the research process, and potentially offer insights that could drive research that would come at a later point in the research project. Indeed, this was found to be the case, and the results obtained during this section were both illuminating in respect to providing context for the findings of the survey, but also in offering an insight that shaped the work that followed. The results of the survey were exported and tabled, and are analysed descriptively in chapter 4.

Research Ethics

In order to ensure the survey was conducted ethically a number of procedures were conducted and guidelines followed. These are noted below.

- The survey sought to avoid unnecessary intrusion and was developed to collect data that could not be accessed through a literature review. Participation in the study was voluntary and participants were approached in a way that would not cause embarrassment or pressure to take part.
- In order to take part in the study, participants were required to read an outline of the aims of the survey and the role that would be expected of them and asked to agree. They were also informed that they were able to stop the survey at any point and that all personal data would be anonymised on reporting.
- Full contact details were provided to participants if requested, for any follow up questions that they may have.
- Permission was given prior to using any recording equipment during the semi-structured interview section.

The study thus meets the four main ethical requirements outlined by Diener and Crandall (1978). In order to meet targets for the study on confidentiality and data protection, guidelines outlined by Holmes (2004) were followed.

- Participant names, addresses or identifying information was not stored on hard drives.
- Identifier codes were used on data files.
- Where necessary, participant details and their corresponding identifier code were stored separately and securely.
- Transcripts and notes were also stored securely.

The ESRC provide a Framework for Research Ethics (FRE), establishing key principles and minimum requirements for good practice. The guidelines are also

required to be adhered to when seeking funding from the ESRC. Six key principles of ethical research are required to be addressed (ESRC, 2015, p.4):

1. "Research participants should take part voluntarily, free from any coercion or undue influence, and their rights, dignity and (when possible) autonomy should be respected and appropriately protected.
2. Research should be worthwhile and provide value that outweighs any risk or harm. Researchers should aim to maximise the benefit of the research and minimise potential risk of harm to participants and researchers. All potential risk and harm should be mitigated by robust precautions.
3. Research staff and participants should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved.
4. Individual research participant and group preferences regarding anonymity should be respected and participant requirements concerning the confidential nature of information and personal data should be respected.
5. Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured.
6. The independence of research should be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality should be explicit."

As noted on the previous page, steps were taken to avoid intruding or embarrassing participants as per principle 1, the potential for harm within this study was not significant but steps were taken to ensure safety of participants as per 2, full information was provided to all participants prior to taking part in the research as per 3, all data collected was anonymised and securely stored as per principle 4, a literature review and pilot study was undertaken to ensure that the research methodologies used were appropriate, transparent and of a high integrity as per 5, no conflicts of interest were present as per 6.

As per the ESRC guidelines, the current study does not entail more than minimal risk and so does not require a 'full ethics review' (p. 8).

Genre 3: Exploratory research approaches (dimensions of becoming)

In line with the principles of crystallisation, this initial phase was contrasted with a more experimental and exploratory phase. This exploratory phase allows the research approach to meet the guidelines set by Ellingson (2009, p. 10), and as already stated represents the production of knowledge across multiple points of the qualitative continuum that has been described above, generally including one middle ground approach (e.g. post-positivist) and one interpretative (artistic, performative or creatively analytic). This second empirical genre of research utilises an interpretative methodology that aspires to be creatively analytical drawing from the work of Gilles Deleuze (and borrowing from his terminology) exploring 'becoming' within the sightseeing assemblage and the creative potential offered in this event. Through this analysis the work seeks to explore what I have refer to as the 'radical potential' within sightseeing, and can be considered to be an anthropological study that emerges from eco-critique and critical theory. The emergence of this methodology is explored theoretically within the current work on page 91.

Temporal context for the third genre

It would be inaccurate to suggest that this multigenre approach was one of the initial intentions of the project, but rather the approach emerged organically in response to the academic trajectory I found myself within. Before proceeding to discuss the methodology that was utilised and the literature that has previously explored a similar approach, I wish to discuss the temporal and subjective processes that led to the emergence of this approach. As I evoke Deleuze in the current section in an effort to introduce new theoretical structures to the literature and in response to the limitations of the current theoretical discourse,

a consideration of theoretical exploration and creativity is needed, as it is central to Deleuze's approach to philosophy. For Deleuze the processes that allow for creativity (which for Deleuze emerges only when one truly 'does' philosophy) emerges from a 'plane of immanence'. This distinction is necessary to make sense of Deleuze's ontology that refuses to claim a transcendental subject (or substance *a la* Spinoza), but rather posits that immanence *is* substance. Thus all distinctions between mind and body, interiority and exteriority, or subject and discourse are flattened. In *What is Philosophy?* (Deleuze *et al.*, 1998) Deleuze and Guattari write that the plane of immanence is "the absolute ground of philosophy, its earth or deterritorialisation, the foundation on which it creates its concepts" (p. 41).

To conceive of an ontology of immanence is to consider the molecular makeup of the assemblages, concepts and affects that construct the world around us. Each of these forms are themselves made up of ever increasing molecular connections that are constantly changing and reorganising themselves. For Deleuze, an ethical existence was found within an appreciation and consideration of these molecular forms – rejecting good/bad, right/wrong, lawful/unlawful – and instead embracing an ethics of immanence where productive potential for greater creativity is sought to be maximised as part of a constant striving for pure immanence.

The current approach is one that emerges from a consideration of this ethics of immanence. This is true both in terms of the research strategies that emerged in response to the changing conditions of the research project, and for the research approaches themselves which strive to create both new understandings as well as new questions. This former point had implications for the analysis undertaken in the Chapter 4, requiring a critical consideration of coding, an approach for interview methodology that opens itself to *difference* and a mechanism to analyse data that would previously be based within fields of study separated and incomparable to each other (referred to as *genres*). This latter consideration is explored through an analysis that utilises crystalisation as already discussed.

However, it must be acknowledged that this ontology of immanence itself did not preexist before the research project. Rather it emerged in response to the changing environment within which the research project was undertaken; in response to changing internal and external conditions of the research project. These ideas are discussed below. Indeed, rather than being seen as a form of epistemology itself that I would subscribe to, this ontology and epistemology of *difference* is only the current framework that I seek to employ to address my major research objective of critical engagement with the current literature and with the tourism paradigm that emerges from an emancipatory political project. The development of this second approach emerges as a response to three key changes that shifted the focus, development and objectives of the project:

1. the cancelling of the Nant Yr Moch development

In April 2013, a post on the Cambrian Mountain Society Facebook page announced that the Nant Yr Moch development had been postponed. Immediately, after consulting the community engagement representatives I was informed that it was no longer deemed financially viable to continue with the development due to public protest. Despite the project being put on a state of hiatus, I was informed that it was unlikely that this project would go ahead at a later date. This announcement was greeted as a success by members of the anti-turbine lobby in Mid Wales including the Cambrian Mountain Society but required a change of direction in the current project, and a relocation of the focus beyond the specific site at Nant Y Moch to a more general consideration of the impact of wind energy on tourism, beyond the current limitations of the literature.

2. Distrust and engagement

Prior to discussing participant-led approaches in the current study, I wish to provide some context for this approach demonstrating why it was decided this was needed and providing some historical context. It was found that despite

effort in the initial approach to overcome what was considered reactionary responses or responses that are clouded by public discourse, responses from participants remained highly influenced by feelings of distrust. Furthermore, when conducting the initial study, it became clear that as a researcher I too was at times met with distrust and suspicion as to the aims of my project – and who I was ‘working’ for. This distrust has been widely explored in the literature and has developed into a research paradigm of its own regularly published in journals such as *Public understanding of Science*, *Science Communication* and *Science as Culture*. This research paradigm developed following a key publication in 2000, when the House of Lords Select Committee on Science published a report called 'Science and Society' in which a 'crisis of confidence' was identified (House of Lords, 2000).

To address this crisis, it was concluded that public dialogue and consultation had to be increased to further engage citizens in decision making. This was not a new idea, as political and scientific institutions were already attempting to address a lack of trust through increased interaction with the public to aid in 'supporting democracy'. The aims of these interactions included establishing greater support from the public and encouraging higher levels of engagement, via the “public understanding of science model” (Sturgis and Allum, 2004). This model is based on the assumption that public acceptance of new research and development would increase as the public became more aware of and better understood the techniques and principles involved in conducting the research. This model (also known as the deficit model) is incomplete, as it fails to take into account public attitude, the needs of public, the level of trust the public have in the institutions behind the development, and their perception of the risk involved in developing the technology. In *Science and Society*, the House of Lords Select Committee agreed an alternative “democratic engagement” model was required, formalising the paradigm shift in public engagement. This model is based on open communication with the public in regard to setting research priorities and decision-making. Through this approach it was hoped that policies grounded in citizen participation will be better received and aligned more closely with the issues that were of concern to the public.

Within social science research, public involvement in setting the research objectives can provide a greater benefit as it may allow limitations in the knowledge of experts to be addressed (Kraus, Malmfors, and Slovic 1992; Pollak 1996; Jasanoff 1997). A pertinent example is seen in the Aids activists of the 1980s (Epstein, 1995). Activists initially called for a rethinking of the trial procedure for experimental aids treatments. The traditional scientific trial procedure saw subjects selected to ensure 'clean results' and subjects taking other forms of medication were often refused participation or were fearful of premature removal from the programme. Activists supported the goals of the study, but highlighted that the primary aim of subjects enrolled in the trials was to gain access to previously unavailable treatment. Activists argued for a reform of trial procedure, to ensure studies remain clean, as well as ethical and in the best interest of both the parties. These activists brought important information from within the community of aids sufferers. These people interacted with, and represented a group impacted by the study and provided information to ensure clinical trials could be preformed in a scientifically accurate way and fairly for those participating. A further example is seen in Wynne's sheep farmers (Wynne, 1989). The sheep farmers were highly knowledgeable on information relevant to discussion of how a group of sheep should be treated to minimise the impact of contamination following the Chernobyl disaster. Since the building of the Windscale-Sellafield plant, many had experience handling sheep exposed to radioactive waste and so could contribute significantly to discussion on the issue.

In order to inform my work, I wish to draw a parallel between this literature on scientific policy and distrust and methodologies that seek to draw from greater participant engagement (which in this case is equivalent to 'public' engagement) in the research process. Participant-led methodologies have emerged from feminist social research where work has sought to give an empowering voice to oppressed groups through the research process. Feminist research has driven important methodological shifts in the field of social science research (Stanley and Wise, 1993), and the potential of these various new methodologies have particularly been explored within qualitative research (e.g. Burman, 1994). Such

a methodology has been applied in research like the current project that seeks to be aware of power structures within the research environment and try to circumvent or minimise these relations. As such, this approach is often used when working with oppressed or disadvantaged groups who may find it difficult to find a voice to communicate with in everyday society, or may find it difficult to present their true feelings within the research environment (such as children within a school or minority immigrant groups).

In the current work I seek to draw from the body of literature on participant led methodologies to inform an approach that aspires to create a dialogue with my participants. As has already been noted, current studies on wind energy and the public has often been discredited by the public as they are suspicious of the goals and funding of the research. It is my intention that through increased dialogue throughout the research process with the participants involved in my study I will be able to prevent a similar crisis in confidence in my work – or possibly begin to make a movement forward to address it. Additionally, this approach opens up the possibility of engaging with the material in unexpected ways that have previously been overlooked in top down approaches. Of course limitations remain in the extent to which a fully participant led process can function, as the current project has a number of predetermined objectives, thus this potential for participant influence is achieved through an unstructured and open methodology for this third genre that I refer to as ‘unstructured conversations’.

3. methodological development in response to the previous study (or ‘genre’)

After completing what was initially to be referred to as the ‘first phase’ of the research project a number of limitations with this approach became apparent and my efforts to overcome these began a trajectory that led to an approach that takes a greater consideration of critical theory and exploratory methodologies. The development of these methodologies coincided with my own development as a researcher, as I studied the literature and found a methodological approach that lined theoretically with the study that I undertook alongside the

development of what was initially going to be the 'second phase'. This phased approach was eventually phased-out and crystalisation was adopted as a methodology.

Although the limitations of the former genre are considered during an analysis on page 77, it is worthwhile to consider the limitations of this approach methodologically and how these methodological limitations are addressed. Despite providing a data source that could be deemed useful, the study highlighted the need to consider alternative approaches. The results from the study were found to support those stated in the literature with a minority of respondents noting that their visiting behavior would be impacted from turbine developments - based on the information that they were presented with and their preconceived ideas about wind energy developments. It is this latter point and the inability to isolate it from the current developments that suggested the need for greater exploration. Indeed, when discussing the photomontage images of the planned development in Nant-Yr-Moch or other aesthetic qualities of the turbine developments a number of comments on wind turbines appeared, that often included criticisms of inefficiency, lack of trust in the technology or general climate skepticism. Despite being an important factor when considering the visitor perceptions of renewable energy technology, when pressed further it was revealed that this information provided little in the way of impacts on the visitor experience or visitor economy - indeed one participant when pressed noted that despite very strong (and angry) opinions against wind turbine development – their presence would not prevent him from enjoying a coffee at the Nant Yr Arian visitor centre. Additionally, a number of participants were not aware of the turbines that surrounded us as we conducted the interviews, often in sight of the turbine blades on the hill that overlooks the visitor centre. The rhetoric and discourse of conflict that surrounds wind energy became inseparable from the responses of visitors to turbine development using a questionnaire based approach that dealt with abstract projections of a future development and scenarios that required predicted responses. To address this a more appropriate methodology was developed that placed participants directly in front of a wind turbine development in Mid Wales and asked them to directly consider and

explore their response to the turbines. This approach sought to draw more greatly from the aesthetics of wind energy developments and responses to the technology that emerges from emotional and cognitive reactions.

Initially the potential to explore this approach through photography was considered. This approach has been utilised by Garrod (2008) to explore perceptions of place at Aberystwyth where participants were asked to take photographs of features they considered important to their experience in an effort to explore the perceptions of the town as both a destination to visit and a place to live. Through the photographs collected by the participants, Garrod is able to see directly through the eyes of those involved in the study whilst the participant is empowered to drive the research process by bringing to attention those that she considers 'important'. This line of thinking led to consideration for a similar project in the current work, albeit utilising a less structured analysis where the photographs would feature as prompts during a participant structured interview. Photo elicitation techniques have also been adopted widely by other researchers (e.g. Cederholm, 2004; MacKay and Couldwell, 2004; Scarles, 2010; etc.). However, a pilot project was undertaken for this approach and it was soon apparent that the photographic element added little to the methodology, and the main source of material arrived from the walk itself, where immediate interactions to the surrounding landscape could be recorded.

In recent years, the inclusion of movement into research has become of greater interest to the social sciences with Sheller and Urry (2006), suggesting that a new paradigm is being formed that involves new methodologies and research topics that consider 'mobilities'. In turn, a number of projects have begun to seek to bring mobility into the research process particularly when investigation 'everyday' life practices – evident by the inclusion of two sessions specifically addressing this topic at the 2007 RGS-IBG (Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers) annual conference (Hein, Evans and Jones, 2008). In addition, methodologies that capture the ways in which people and the communities within which they operate value place are becoming increasingly

desirable to policymakers and planners and thus offers a strategic usefulness to the current study, as well as a unique angle to approach the research question.

Over the last few years a small but growing number of social scientists and geographers have been using techniques where researchers walk with participants (for example, Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003; Reed, 2002). Studies range from work where researchers have simply wandered through landscapes talking to participants, to highly structured studies where researchers follow and observe their participants as they undertake their daily activities. It is argued that walking interviews allow for the collection of richer data as participants are prompted by meanings and connections to their surrounding environment and are less likely to try to give a 'correct' answer (Evans and Jones, 2010). However, the limitations of such a strategy are also required to be considered: notably that the use of walking in a methodology may exclude some sections of the public that are unable to walk or unwilling to participate; framing of place is important for the interview to be relevant and so is dependent on uncontrollable factors (weather, permissions, etc.); and the use of walking during an interview limits the amount of interview techniques that can be applied. However, by walking, both the researcher and participant become more exposed to the multi-sensory stimulation of the surrounding environment during the research process (Adams and Guy, 2007) rather than being excluded from the real world, allowing for a different experience than alternative research methods, that despite being performed in motion (as for example being driven around in a car e.g., Laurier and Philo, 2003), are essentially sedentary from the perspective of both the participant and the researcher. This gives a sense of immediacy to the process as well as a kinaesthetic rhythm (Middleton, 2009).

A number of studies have used walking as a methodology, enabling the collection of rich qualitative data. A particularly innovative approach has been used by Wylie (i.e. Lorimer & Wylie, 2010), where the performance of walking functions as the methodology that functions as a prompt for reflections on embodiment, affect and the engagement of the body with landscape.

“For four hours, about seven miles, you're caught – captivated – by the Doethie valley. You hardly see another living creature, let alone another human being. Your cloth ears and digital eyes would hardly notice anyway; you wouldn't recognise a red kite if one sat perched on a rock right in front of you. And who knows now what might be happening to you, elsewhere – your mobile signal's flicked out like a snuffed candle. The valley's big; it's really big, its flanks and folds rising to the sky, the size and shape of them barely to be conceived. And it breathes out a silence. It's not soundless of course, not without sound, or empty of sound. It's the sort of quiet or hush you might sense, like a mist rising, in vast, open spaces.” (Lorimer and Wylie, 2010, p.9)

The extract above is taken from a work that details the trip of the two researchers travelling to Aberystwyth for a conference. Autobiographical in context, the paper outlines the trip, reporting on the perceived experiences of the walkers – each section of text headlined by coordinates given in Longitude and Latitude. The walk functions for the reporters as a means through which consciousness is allowed to evolve alongside the meaning of place. Ideas of landscape in theory are considered alongside landscape in practice as each of the researchers embraces their subjectivity during the walk. In other work, Wylie explores a walking holiday along part of the South West Coast Path, which runs along the coastlines of Somerset, Devon and Cornwall (2005). The current project acknowledges these approaches but aims for a more applied methodology that combines talking with participants with walking or within a walking environment. Not unlike Wylie's walk, study of these aforementioned approaches has encouraged the development or evolution of consciousness that has led to me applying the current research strategy. This approach has been applied in a number of studies but is a relatively new way of undertaking research. Matthews *et al.*, (2000) and Paulos and Goodman (2004), apply a walking methodology alongside quantitative research, however neither of these studies fully account for the impact of walking on the methodological framework and quantitative data analysis. Qualitative research has been undertaken by Hitchings and Jones (2004) who report jointly on studies undertaken

individually, where they joined participants in walking around gardens to analyse the human-non human interaction during these explorations. By joining their participants in walking through the garden, both researchers note that information was more easily obtained and respondents found it easier to verbalise their attitudes and feelings when actually living the experiences that they were trying to discuss. The responses given were also noted to be more mundane, and therefore more interesting; the respondents tried less to give answers that they felt were 'right' for the study, but instead due to the informal setting relaxed and a more 'real' experience was recorded. Both studies found strength in using material probes; in this case photographs were used to encourage the interviewee to provide further information. 'Walking probes', in the form of landmarks and location specific encounters have also been found to be effective (De Leon and Cohen, 2005).

Walking interviews have also been argued to facilitate a more participant led research process, and thus as well as enabling for better data collection, may have an additional empowering facility to those that are taking part in the project, particularly when the participant is allowed to select the places that are walked in (De Leon and Cohen, 2005). Hall, Lashua and Coffey's project, 'Locality, Biography and Youth in a Transforming Community' interviewed young people in South Wales about local regeneration strategies and their lives through walking interviews. By including this movement into the research, it was felt that the power relationship between researcher and participant was addressed through "more ordinary conversation" (Hall et al. 2006). Other researchers have sought to address power through the development of the 'go-along' ethnographic technique, where researchers accompany their respondents on their everyday activities whilst conducting an interview, providing both observational data and access to their participant's experiences and interpretations (Kusenbach, 2003). Kusenbach notes that this technique addresses five key research issues particularly effectively: environmental perception; spatial practices; biographies; social architecture; and social realms. These 'go alongs' are most effective when undertaken on natural journeys made by the participant, as although interesting,

contrived go-alongs may provide little information on the participants “authentic practices and interpretations” (p464).

However, the degree to which this ‘authentic practice’ can ever be observed in the presence of the researcher is questionable, leading Ingold and Lee to embrace the ‘inauthentic’ through the use of both ‘everyday’ *and* ‘unusual’ walks (Ingold 2006; Ingold and Lee 2008). Here their work focuses on the sociability, place making and relationship with the environment that walking allows (Lee and Ingold, 2006). Indeed, these projects can still be considered contrived (as noted by Kusenbach, 2003) and, where a sense of ‘reality’ is sought to be captured by the research, alternative strategies have developed. Anderson (2004) employs a technique of ‘bimbling’ or “aimlessly walking through a co-ingredient environment” (Anderson 2004, p. 257) in his research on environmental activists. This type of methodology seeks to link with collaborative driven research through the use of a field diary of engagements with research participants rather than verbatim transcripts that link to specific places. Anderson takes a position in the field within a ‘third space’ (Hein *et al.*, 2008), neither acting as an academic or a researcher, but somewhere else. This ‘third space’ concept relates to the work of Soja (1996); rejecting the binary opposition between an understanding of place as either materialistic or idealistic and instead supports a stance that can include both, with a focus on lived experience. But here walking is employed less as a means to research within a set space, and more as a means to escape a space (the protest camps) that would inhibit the research. Even here however, discussions on specific locations emerged through the interview (participants noted that developers would soon want this ‘bit of meadow’ p. 256) and indeed techniques that provided information on where these statements occurred could have provided a further layer of analysis. Edensor (2000^b) questions the emancipatory potential of walking itself, suggesting that rather than being liberating, walking is itself bound within discourses of power, class and ideologies around nature. Here through an archeological analysis, the reasons for and how we walk are bound by convention, and rather than being a liberating experience, continue to reproduce institutionalised conventions (around sensual deprivation,

oversocialisation, external and internal surveillance, anxiety about status and inauthentic performance). Nevertheless, Edensor notes the possibility for serendipitous events to disrupt the walkers gaze as the terrain and climate “impose themselves upon the body” (p. 101) causing pain or pleasure. He considers that these moments of confrontation and an acceptance of impurity and heterogeneity are part of the experience of liberty and where the reflective potential is located.

One initial experimental methodology sought to utilise this reflective potential alongside GIS technology. Such an approach would aim to explore the potential for creating maps that acknowledges the “multiplicity of geographic realities” (Dunn, 2007, p. 616), thus offering the potential to empower communities by providing them with a resource to map their own narratives. Critical approaches to GIS are context and issue driven and are not led by the technology. Rather they seek to empower communities by engaging them during the production of geographic data, providing a tool that allows communities to free up space from objective and disembodied (or technocratic in terms of governance) meanings, opening up the possibility for a democratisation of landscape that frees it up for a number of polysymbolic pluralities (MacCannell, 2012). The emancipatory success of these projects is questionable, but GIS and GPS display a proven potential as an instrument of power (in both as a disciplinary and emancipatory mechanism) should the application be appropriate (see Prosen’s, 2006 contrasting accounts of the RealTime Amsterdam Project and Acme’s Rent-A-Car). However, the increasing use of GIS and GPS also open a number of ethical and safety issues (Hein *et al.*, 2008) regarding the inclusion of consenting and non-consenting participants in the study. Pilot projects that utilised walking and location devices were successful but the information collected was diverse and analysis that sought to focus on the perception of wind turbines was difficult. Within the current project, where research funding has been allocated by the Welsh Assembly to specifically study wind energy developments and their ‘impacts’ on visitors, it was necessary to rein in the methodology, however a more exploratory approach utilising walking and photography has been piloted for a future research project. Building on this, the productive aspects of the

walking and location devices of the methodology were preserved and focused, and a methodology was developed whereby participants would be approached at a specific section of a set walk at the Nant Yr Arian site that overlooks an adjacent wind energy development. Although being participant led, it was intended that the conversation be guided towards the wind turbines should they not arise naturally – however in practice it was not found that this was needed.

4. my own development and researcher positionality

Alongside the development of the research thesis, I have experienced a developing of my outlook to research and how I wish to be perceived as a researcher. Just as external conditions impacted on the way the research project was conceived, resulting in a change of direction, internal conditions (that is, personal, subjective conditions) resulted in an evolution of the approach I wished to follow in the project in response to the research that I undertook for the project, a consideration of my responsibility as a researcher and in response to academic research I undertook in critical theory and philosophy. Indeed, it would not be possible to talk of the development of this third genre without a consideration of these factors.

I initially came to this project with a background in Marxism, especially Eco-Marxism in response to the (what I would now consider limited) study that came with my political affiliations. My early theoretical work sought to align eco-Marxist thought with a conception of ecology, aesthetics and the current literature available. This led to me to the work of MacCannell, whose project of looking for political potentials within the tourist space resonated with my own aspirations. I specifically address MacCannell's work in a section 4 of the literature review and his project that seeks to look beyond a conception of tourism that opens up a possibility for new ways of thinking and being that we do not see in the work of Urry that he seeks to critique (however indeed we do see a similar approach albeit one that is not drawn from a Marxist background in feminist and embodiment work [e.g. Veijola and Jokinen 1994]). The utilisation

of Lacanian psychoanalysis in his recent work is in line with a branch of contemporary critical theory, who seek to use a Hegelian-Lacanian approach to inform a political project that falls into the historical tradition of Marxism. A notable theorist who utilises this approach is Slavoj Žižek, a former colleague of MacCannell. I had some familiarity with Žižek's work and his political project but my background in psychoanalysis was limited. To address this, I began studying psychoanalysis with an advisor from the Severnside Institute in Bristol where I undertook my own analysis and began the first stage of training as required when training to become a Lacanian psychoanalyst. I also attended a critical theory summer school where I attended classes by Slavoj Žižek as well as other prominent academics within critical theory. As I became more familiar with the literature I became aware of limitations with MacCannell's approach in part from a misreading of the original source text. In response to this I wrote a paper for the December 2015 issue of *Tourist Studies*, where I seek to apply a more strictly Žižekian approach to address the gaps in MacCannell's understanding of Lacanian Psychoanalysis (Dash and Cater, 2015)

In mid 2013, I was introduced to a new graduate school in Michigan where students would have the opportunity to study alongside leading academics. Launched in late 2013, the school promised low cost tuition with a gradual shift to free education but suffered from early management issues. I became the first student to be officially enrolled at the school and through late 2013-2014, I undertook study in critical theory, psychoanalysis and philosophy alongside key theorists in the field. Through this study I was introduced to new ideas that made me question my application of psychoanalysis for its emancipatory potential and led to my reading of Gilles Deleuze. Additionally, through the work of Alexander Grit, I saw the theoretical concepts of Deleuze applied within tourism, offering greater potential for a radical politics for tourism than the limited emancipatory politics that can be applied through psychoanalysis. Grit's work was particularly influential and introduced concepts such as becoming and assemblage that are utilised in the current work. My academic journey and development is indebted to the following people who played some part in providing a guiding influence at some point: Carl Cater, Brian Garrod, Alexander

Grit, Dean MacCannell, Laurie Rodriguez, Vincenzo Salvatore, Ian Lamond, Etienne Balibar.

Positioning this approach on the qualitative continuum

I wish to make explicit the positionality of this approach on Ellingson's qualitative continuum (2009; p. 8 and 9). In order to engage in crystallisation, it is required that at least one impressionist or artist methodology is utilised, additionally it is also important to note that in resisting the art/science dichotomy, a new three tier system is not created and rather these descriptions are laid out spatially only for the reader to better comprehend these movements between genres. Indeed, the approach utilised in the current genre draws from both artistic and interpretivist approaches in addition to qualities found within empirical 'middle-ground' approaches.

This approach seeks to combine the goals of artistic/impressionist approaches in unraveling accepted truths and to explore the specific aspects of the experience with the turbine assemblage whilst also remaining to explore and generate pragmatic implications for practitioners which may be considered a quality of a more middle ground approach. The analysis that is undertaken seeks to draw on more impressionist approaches and resonates with Ellingson's criteria for this category: 'Do stories ring true, resonate, engage, move?', but despite the impressionist nature of this analysis, the work continues to draw on a foundation that continues to be based within the data collected during conversations with participants.

Outline of methodology: Conversations with visitors

Throughout June, July and August 2013, interviews were undertaken with participants at Nant Yr Arian, Mid Wales. Drawing on walking methodologies, an approach was favored that would place participants face-to-face with the objects of discussion. A path was chosen at the forestry commission site that overlooked the wind turbines of an adjacent development. Throughout these three months, I

walked along the path and asked walkers to engage in a conversation with me about the landscape and views that surrounded us. If the walker agreed, we would move to a bench that overlooked a wind turbine and begin the interview. The conversation was very loosely structured and allowed to traverse topics and be led by the participants in the study. The loose structure was guided by the following interview schedule:

1. Background and motivations (Research question 1)

- a. Reasons for visiting the area? Previous experiences in the area?
- b. Where is the participant from? Who are they travelling with?
- c. What part of their visit does the visit to Nant Yr Arian play?

2. Sights and Aesthetics (Research question 1, 2)

- a. What is the best view and the worst view?
- b. How does it compare to what was expected?
- c. Which parts do you think are natural?
- d. How do the turbines fit in this picture?

3. Reflections and Thoughts (Research question 1, 2, 3)

- a. What do the turbines make you think about?
- b. How do they affect your experience?
- c. In what way do they make you think about environmental issues?
- d. How do the turbines have an impact on how you perceive wind energy?

4. Reflections on the methodology (Research question 4)

- a. What do you think I should be asking people about wind turbines and their experience?
- b. What would your answer be to this?
- c. Is there anything you want to add?

At times this interview schedule was followed closely, at other times it was not referenced as the conversation flowed freely and new topics of discussion that were important to the participant emerged. To an extent the capacity for this

sort of data collection was potentially limited by the set objectives of the research project and the set research question – that of one of investigation the impacts of wind energy – however the impact of this limiting presence was minimised and worked through by using an analytical approach that was open to ‘difference’. This analytical approach draws on the Grits approach, applying a Deleuzian inspired analytical framework that is able to accommodate results that may be disregarded, overlooked or unable to be included in a more conventional approach. This charting of becomings is discussed shortly, but initially I wish to discuss the post interview stages of transcription and coding before briefly discussing issues of reliability and ethics.

Sampling

A convenience sampling technique was used to select participants for the study. The weaknesses and strengths of this approach are discussed within the methodology of Genre 1, where the same technique was applied (page 147) and so are not reproduced here.

Post-interview process

Data storage and management

1. Transcription

Bazeley (2013) notes that a variety of data collection techniques are possible for interview based methodologies and despite an abundance of technology available to the researcher the method of recording needs to draw upon the research questions and objectives. As the current approach seeks to draw upon phenomenological approaches and examine the phrasing and nuances of expressions, the methodology sought to employ a full recording of each interview followed by a detailed transcription.

Full transcription was performed on the recorded text by a professional. This transcription included repetitions and full recording of non-linguistic

communications (e.g. *ums*, *ers*, etc). Following this the transcription was read through and checked with the source material to confirm the placement of punctuation and notes were made alongside the written text on the intended meaning that is communicated in the spoken passages that may be missing from the written text (for example, repeated denials in the text may in fact indicate an opposite meaning of what the respondent was at first appearing to state). Alongside transcriptions of the recorded material, notes were added based on observations of the settings of the interviews, indeed as Becker (1998) notes: ‘the “background details” we include are in fact much more important than mere background, not just local colour thrown in to give off a little verisimilitude. They are the envioning *conditions* under which the things we studied... exist’ (p. 54). In the present study these details included data such as background information on the participants in the interview, participant ages, motives for visiting and the duration and of their stay and familiarity with the Welsh countryside. This context to the data allows for meaningful interpretation to be undertaken on the observations, allowing for an understanding to be gained on the relationship between structure and process. In addition, this knowledge of context is a requirement for case-to-case transfer of the knowledge gained, allowing for the application of insights from the present study to be applied to future work or as a basis to theoretical developments (Firestone, 1993; Mishler, 1979, Yin, 2003). Initially the work explored the possibility of employing GIS approaches alongside walking/interview based methodology that would allow the interview data to be plotted alongside location data, allowing for diagrams or wordmaps to be created that constructed a version of place based upon reflections and responses to the landscape, rather than its geographic features. As the final approach to study was mostly stationary this approach seemed less valuable and so was not continued in the final methodology and ‘locating’ the responses of participants was done less formally during the interview, by recognition and recording of the location or subject of the participant’s gaze.

It is however worth noting the limitations to transcriptions. As Kvale (1996) notes, “[t]ranscripts are not copies or representations of some original reality, they are interpretative constructions that are useful tools for given purposes.

Transcripts are decontextualised conversations, they are abstractions, as topographical maps are abstractions from the original landscape from which they are derived" (p. 165). It is thus necessary to consider transcriptions not as a reproduction of the conversation recorded in the field, but rather as a constructed version of this text. Words may appear to change meaning as the text is transcribed, words may be brought to attention that may have not been intended initially by the participant, or may be transcribed incorrectly. Additionally, in the current study where one or two participants may have spoken together or on top of one another, the linear nature of transcription requires that this parallel speech be translated into a linear narrative. Furthermore, the act of transcribing, of turning words imbued with tone, volume and other features difficult to reproduce in the written word, changes the features of the content recorded, stripping away these qualities and replacing it with others. Although it is necessary for transcription to occur within the current study, these translational issues will be considered during an evaluation of the methodology following analysis.

2. Participant consent, ethical considerations and data storage

Participants were instructed that their identities would be anonymised, including any individual details raised during the interview that could be used to identify a single participant.

Holmes (2004) suggests that to maintain confidentiality, and sustain ethical research practice one should:

- 1) avoid storing participant names and addresses or letter correspondence on hard drives
- 2) use identifier codes on data files and
- 3) store the list of participants and their identifier codes separately in a locked cabinet

- 4) ensure that transcribers sign a letter saying they will conform to the Data Protection Act
- 5) ensure transcripts do not include participants' names
- 6) keep copies of transcripts in a locked cabinet

As interviews were recorded, further considerations were taken to ensure files were password protected and stored in a safe secure location. Also, to ensure informed consent, details were provided outlining the purpose of the research and notifying interviewees that their participation is voluntary, that they can refuse to answer any questions, can withdraw from the interview at any time and are able to withdraw their information within two weeks – this consent was recorded prior to beginning of the interview.

In the present study, the use of informed consent required careful consideration as it was important to not reveal specific details of the study (the specific interest in wind energy developments that were in view of the setting of the interview) to analyse if these themes would develop on their own through the course of the interview. In almost all cases participants quickly began to speak of the nearby turbines without prompts, sometimes as one of the first things discussed and thus this was of little concern. After the initial questions of the conservation had been discussed, the focus on perceptions of industrial objects and landscape was made more explicit (thus placing recognition of the role not just of the turbines but of the other objects that surround them – the energy generation equipment, the agricultural equipment, the road, etc – and the comparisons and relationships between these in contrast to the agrarian vistas to be gazed at elsewhere).

3. Coding

Coding provides a means of managing the collected data and identifying, sorting and querying specific sections of the text to facilitate analysis. However, as Bazeley (2013, p.125) notes coding is not an end in itself, but rather functions as

a step to analysis – not as the analysis itself. Codes are instead seen as organising principles that are the creations of the researcher, ‘they are tools to think with. They can be expanded, changed, or scrapped altogether as our ideas develop through repeated interactions with the data’ (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, p. 32). Passages are labeled with codes in order to make them accessible but also to represent the passage during analysis. However, this focus needs to be maintained on data retention, rather than on data reduction through summary (Richards, 2009). Coding seeks to provide the researcher a means to break out of an ‘imprisonment in the story’, allowing them to see new connections, allows access to new interpretations and provide an analysis of the data within its proper context (Maxwell and Miller, 2008, p.469).

As suggested in Saldana (2009), coding consists of two major stages; an initial stage of identification and labeling following a second stage of codes that seek to further refine and develop more analytical clusters during a process of focused coding. Following this and during initial analysis coding may continue to be revised and evolve as work proceeds in forming new networks of inter-relations between the themes revealed through this coding.

Some authors have likened coding to writing an index of a book, just as an item in the index provides a reference point to a location in the original source material. (Kelle, 2004; Patton, 2002). Bazeley (2013) however notes that coding seeks to take this a step further – serving as a means to both sort and order data in addition to referencing, providing a way of grouping similar materials to be accessed during analysis. This has been of particular focus to other authors, who have sought to emphasise the potential through coding to connect data to ideas, and these ideas to the data that supports them (Morse and Richards, 2002, p.115). This offers the potential to recontextualise data within categories allowing for data to be observed in new contexts outside of the research event (Bazeley, 2013, p.129).

Coding in the current study was facilitated through the use of qualitative software NVIVO. Before exploring the coding strategy employed, it is worth discussing the advantages and limitations of this approach that led to the

formulation of the coding strategy. NVIVO allows for a number of sources types (such as video, text, and audio) to be inputted into the research. It also allows transcriptions to be directly referenced to audio files, allowing the text to be partially transcribed and supported by audio recordings to provide context (however time allowances permitted the current study to utilise full transcriptions supported by audio recordings to provide context). In addition, unlike the use of pen and paper methodologies, the process of coding is nondestructive and the original source material remains in its original form attached to the code applied to it. Thus any changes to either the code or original source material are reflected throughout the work. This non-destructive quality allows greater complexity of coding to be developed, allowing multiple codes to be applied to the same passage, describing contextual factors alongside thematic coding. However, this advantage needs to be treated carefully as it holds the potentially to make the process of analysis more difficult, should too much detailed data be collected. It is essential that the software is used to facilitate the process of coding, rather than becoming the subject of research itself, with the final outcome of the process being the analysis of the data rather than the complete index of the source material. This issue has been referred to as 'the coding trap' by Johnston (2006) where the process of coding itself takes precedent over the process of imaginative and reflective thinking. Strauss notes that:

"The aim of coding is to open up the inquiry. Every interpretation at this point is tentative. In a genuine sense, the analyst is not primarily concerned with this particular document, but for what it can do to further the next steps of the inquiry. Whatever is wrong in interpreting those lines and words will eventually be cancelled out through later steps of the inquiry. Concepts will then work or not work, distinctions will be useful or not useful – or modified, and so forth." (1987, p.29).

Coding and poststructuralism

Maclure (2014) develops a critique of coding drawing from the work of Deleuze. I now wish to explore this critique and consider how this would influence an approach that seeks to be participant led. Maclure draws on Deleuze's *The Logic of Sense* (Deleuze, 1990) and Deleuze's critique of *representation* (e.g. Deleuze, 1994) to develop a critique of coding that seeks to move beyond thinking that establishes hierarchical relationships and to one of *assemblages* – one that seeks to consider a world not held still and defined, but forever separate from the categories that represent it. In considering post-structuralism, Maclure draws on its critiques of reason, universal truth and the crisis of representation – i.e. in which language no longer is held to be representative of reality, but rather is implicated in its construction – to consider the limitations of coding. She notes that coding places the analyst in a position of 'panoptic immunity' allowing the researcher to assume a position of privilege over the subjects of his research whilst preserving the intactness and autonomy of his own self (as in the account of Miller, 1988, p. 162 on the nineteenth century novel). Following Deleuze's privileging of *difference* in research and philosophy, Maclure finds problems in the constraints placed by coding on the potentials of research.

"- the fact that the 'grammar' always pre-exists the phenomena under investigation. Things are condemned always to contract the same sorts of relationships to one another – genus to species, category to instance, general to particular, disposed according to relations of identity, similarity, analogy or opposition." (p. 168).

Thus coding nullifies the potential for uncovering difference by subsuming those that deviate whilst representing forms of movement in terms of static relations amongst already formed entities (either as pre-existing terms that are coded for, or as an inherent static relation amongst words within a language itself). Additionally, stagnating is the need for completeness, for the data to be rendered explicable to the point of saturation. However, Maclure does not seek to disregard coding as a productive strategy, and instead suggests that coding

should seek to consider that which coding may usually miss. She notes that following Smith (1995), these are referred to as “Rebel Becomings” those events within the research process that avoid symbolisation, that avoid being coded and included in a conventional research process. It is in these interruptions that the potential for reflection and productive analysis lies and the creative potentials within the research may flourish.

“I would suggest that the act of dwelling in such moments and watching – making them grow like crystals, outwards from the edges is part of an ethical obligation to relieve our subjects from the banality and the burden of the ethnographic and other codes that hold them in place” (Maclure *et al.* 2011, p. 173).

Instead she posits potential within coding to create a “cabinet of curiosities”, assembling the products of a piece of research like a sixteenth and seventeenth century display of the fruits of exploration. Here the contents of the inquiry are not laid out for contemplation at a distance, but involve handling and analysis by the visitor themselves as objects are hidden in draws and compartments. This exploration of the contents of the cabinet invokes a sense of affect in the visitor as they rediscover the contents themselves. Adding to this she suggests that coding instead of being a process that seeks conformation, becomes an experiment with disorder ‘in which provisional and partial taxonomies are formed but are always subject to change and metamorphosis, as new connections spark among words, bodies, objects and ideas’ (p. 181). Within such an approach coding becomes not about creating a static representation of the data that has been collected but emerges as an ongoing experiment, where the revealing of gaps and inconsistency is as important as revealing overarching themes. In doing this, she argues that the researcher is able to be more open to the possibility of “wonder” by looking for occasions where ‘subjects’ may be unwilling to discipline themselves to the terms within the coding structure. Here we can liken this relationship between the researcher and the code to that of the philosopher and the concept in Deleuze’s *What is Philosophy?* (Deleuze *et al.*,

1994) Thus promoting a relationship of cooperation rather than domination and subordination.

The coding process

Despite the above considerations, a degree of “completion” was utilised and determined after a sufficient amount of regularities within the categories could be identified and an adequate amount of data was present within each to support the analysis (as in Miles and Huberman, 1994). Cobin and Strauss (2008), argue that coding is completed at the point where each category is fully developed and described, with the variations in each of these categories being fully described and interrelatedness between categories identified. In analysing the data, it was necessary to weigh up the applicable use of conclusions of the work within the context of the current study (i.e. considering the aims of my funding partners in the current work). Indeed, although the current work seeks to push an agenda of difference, the required project outcomes of my funding partners needed to be considered, where the such approaches may have rendered the work less applicable to their projects.

The critique above however should be noted and considered during the reading of the following analysis. In achieving saturation, I have privileged my own position as researcher as noted above, this will be analysed as part of the results chapter and emerges not as a weakness, but rather as a limitation of the breadth of research within the current study. Additionally, however, as Maclure suggests I do wish my codes and their exposition to appear like a cabinet of curiosities. I wish for them to not remain static but to open up a space for reflection and response, I wish the reader to dive into the material I am going to present and to consider the exposition of this material alongside their own reflections. Unfortunately, the reader will not be able to remain safe in a position of privilege.

Initially a multilevel coding structured was proposed but this was later replaced by a looser and more interpretive approach. The approach that was used can be likened to both descriptive coding and values coding, as it sought to both document and categorise the breadth of the data collected whilst also ensuring to capture subjective perspectives. The codes that were used to label the data were captured from participant statements, and the original words of participants were preserved as much as possible during analysis.

As the strategy that was employed drew from both descriptive and structural coding, I will now outline the approach of each of these strategies in turn. Descriptive coding seeks to identify the topics within the passages of qualitative data, but it is important to note that it does not abbreviate the data that is present, rather the code becomes like a bookmark that points to the relevant content within the data (Tesch, 1990, p. 119). Through descriptive coding an overview of the data can be achieved, allowing the researcher to begin to understand the range of the data and the key themes. This is referred to by Turner (1994), as the 'basic vocabulary' of data, allowing for an initial number of categories to be collected before further analysis is taken place. In addition, coding drew upon a values coding methodology (Gable and Wolf, 1993; LeCompte and Preissle, 1993). Here the participants subjective values, attitudes and beliefs are coded for, seeking to note the reflections, opinions, ideas, and perceptions of the participants that were interviewed in the study. Although value codes can be constructed a priori to the study, codes were constructed in situ of the coding process and the vocabulary of the participants were preserved as much as possible within the coding terms. After the material had been coded using a strategy that derives from both these formal coding approaches, a directory (or cabinet of curiosities) was available for access. Using NVIVO, a variety of analytical processes were applied to further explore the data and the relationships between the codes and the material was read through again as notes were made in order to link together some of the concepts that had been revealed through the process of analyzing the material. Indeed, some of the codes that were noted can not be linked to either of the two strategies described,

but rather identified a recurring theme that I wished to explore further during a written analysis.

Validity and reliability

It is necessary to consider and comment on the validity and reliability of the aforementioned procedure. The framework seeks to embrace the interpretive nature of analysis – recognising that the interpretation between the researcher and the text is unavoidable and thus the problem is not one of becoming objective but rather making the process of analysis thoroughly documented and explicit, allowing scrutiny to be made of the decisions that led to research conclusions. Thus effective coding seeks not to develop a true understanding of the data, but rather develop an interpretation that makes sense given the conceptual framework that is provided (Kvale, 1996). Effectively presented coding and reliable data is thus achieved through a clear audit trail of coding decisions, linked to a strong evidentiary database (Yin, 2003) – rather than the through the application of a second coder as undertaken in more quantitative based research. Indeed, in qualitative research ‘there is no single set of categories waiting to be discovered’ (Dey, 1993, p.11) and thus it is not expected that two individuals may approach the same work in a comparable way (as in Bauer, 2000), or that this should have an impact on how reliable the study is perceived to be. Working alone on this project meant that inter-coding agreements (as would be undertaken by members working as a team) was not necessary, however value was noted in the role of discussing coding and the sample with colleagues at the University.

A framework of difference

In order to analyse the data obtained during conversations with participants, a Deleuzian inspired methodology of Becoming was adopted. This framework draws on the approach adopted by Grit alongside other analytical frameworks to

explore “the opening up of hospitality spaces to difference” as part of his PhD thesis at Strathclyde University (Grit, 2010). In Grit’s work this approach is part of a multilevel strategy that explores becoming, affect, the organisation of hospitality space predominantly through auto-ethnographic work. Unlike Grits work my approach seeks to explore affect, and the organisation of space through becoming (exploring affective becomings and becomings unwelcomed by the organisation of space) through a singular framework. However, future work may seek to explore affect and spatial organisation in greater detail and focus than currently explored. In order to explain the framework in the current project, I will first provide a background to some of the concepts used before exploring the basis within the literature of the current approach.

Deleuze and becoming

Within the theoretical component of this work I have already explored some Deleuzian concepts in an effort to go beyond the limitations of the current literature in a trajectory that has emerged from my own experience of the literature. I will now explore the objectives of the analytical framework adopted by exploring these concepts of becoming within a specific context and how this opens up possibilities for new ways of engaging with data.

Much that has been written of the concept of becoming has emerged from a consideration of Deleuze’s collaborative project with Guattari, particularly within feminist scholarship. May (2003), identifies that the earliest reference Deleuze makes to becoming is in his work on *Nietzsche and Philosophy* (2006), where in a discussion of Heraclitus (and following Nietzsche’s text ‘Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks’) he writes:

“Heraclitus has two thoughts which are like ciphers: according to one there is no being, everything is a becoming; according to the other, being is the being of becoming. ... There is no being beyond becoming, nothing beyond multiplicity; neither multiplicity nor becoming are appearances or illusions. But neither are

there multiple or eternal realities which would be, in turn, like essences beyond appearance. Multiplicity is the inseparable manifestation, essential transformation and constant symptom of unity. Multiplicity is the affirmation of unity; becoming is the affirmation of being.” (p. 22)

Within this passage we see the fundamental ideas which remain at the heart of Deleuze’s concept of becoming, and at the heart of his philosophical project. May (2003), identifies these as four ideas that remain within his work – that becoming is the final reality (“there is no becoming beyond becoming”); that becoming is aligned with multiplicity; that becoming is not a transcendent reality and that through becoming an affirmation of being is achieved. Notably in May’s work he explores a connection between the concept of *Difference* in discussion with Deleuze (1994). Here in an exposition of Deleuze’s ontological position (one that privileges *difference* over stability as both an empirical phenomenon that governs reality, but also as a philosophical concept within Deleuze’s own definition to allow for new perspectives to be developed) May links difference with becoming as it is equated with the unfolding of multiplicity or difference. Becoming is the being of being, unlike in traditional philosophies where being is found in the stable and the same (i.e. Hegel’s Absolute or Kant’s transcendental unity of apperception). This is noted in *Difference and Repetition* where in a discussion of the Platonic model, he notes:

“Among the most extraordinary pages in Plato, demonstrating the anti-Platonism at the heart of Platonism, are those which suggest that the different, the dissimilar, the unequal – in short, becoming – may well be not merely defects which affect copies like a ransom paid for their secondary character or a counterpart to their resemblance, but rather models themselves, terrifying models of the pseudos in which unfolds the power of the false.” (Deleuze, 1994, p. 128).

This power of the false is the location of the becoming - the failure of the resemblance that opens up the possibility for difference. Indeed, as May notes the question that needs to be asked is not ‘what is a becoming?’, but rather ‘when

is a becoming?' By doing this, Deleuze avoids answering the question of 'what' and suggesting that a becoming is a 'thing', and instead seeks to identify becoming as the preluding chaos that leads to the production of things. This concept is further developed in the collaborative works with Guattari, where the concept of minority and majority are used to identify forms of becoming. Here all becomings are becoming-minor identifying a movement from away from the majority ("referring not to a greater relative quantity but to the determination of a state or standard in relation to which larger quantities, as well as the smallest, can be said to be minoritarian... Majority implies a state of domination, not the reverse", Deleuze and Guattari, 2004b, p. 291). This majority culture can be likened to that of the framework of domination found within conceptions of Ideology found elsewhere in the current work.

What is important to Deleuze is not the content of these becomings themselves but rather the destabilising process of becoming itself and these identities that are formed are mere by-products of a more important process. Thus movements are preferred that favor the continuation of destablisation, as trajectories are opened that favour new ways of thinking and being in the world. It is through the concept of 'intensity' that these trajectories are identified in the current work. Following Spinoza, Deleuze proposes that bodies not only have an individuality in extension, but also have an intensive individuality of greater importance, one that represents an active and passive power to be affected and to affect.

Drawing on thermodynamics Deleuze classifies both extensive (e.g. length, area, volume, etc) and intensive properties (temperature, speed, weight, pressure, etc) – with the latter being different from the former for its ability to drive processes through differential gradients (just as when a high pressure when placed next to a low pressure will lead to movement – or thunderstorms and hurricanes). High intensive differences are thus those that encourage spontaneous flow, movement and further processes that drive the body without organs (BwO).

Concluding remarks for Chapter 2

Within this chapter I have attempted to outline the varied and diverse methodology applied within the current work and the trajectories that led to the utilisation of these methodologies. Within the next chapter I will now begin to examine some of the results obtained through these methods, first providing a discussion of some of the exploratory research undertaken, before then examining the results of both Genre 1 and Genre 3.

Chapter 3: Preliminary and Exploratory Research

Walking Around the Turbines

Preliminary ethnographic and exploratory research was undertaken throughout the project. Rather than as conventional preliminary research undertaking before the research phase of the project began (although this indeed was the case) some exploratory research was undertaken throughout the project alongside data analysis continually seeking to engage with the groups that are both effected by and deeply involved in the political processes surrounding the development of wind energy in mid-Wales. The expertise (both lay and technical) on the subject displayed by these groups provide a valuable source of information inaccessible elsewhere and, as the current research on this topic is often met with distrust, it was important to be as transparent and inclusive as possible.

In order to achieve an understanding of the major concerns felt by members of the public towards the impacts on tourism from proposed developments, it was important during the early stages of research to attend a number of the public and private meetings held with development partners such as National Grid held throughout Mid-Wales on this issue. During these meetings it became clear that, as a major contributor to the economy of Mid-Wales, tourism presented a key concern for those that felt they would be effected by planned wind energy developments under TAN 8.

Public meetings were popular with many containing more than 200 people present and engaging in debate on the issue. Common points of concern were addressed at all meetings such as: the suggested impact on house prices in the region; transport issues that may emerge during development (particularly an issue in Newtown during the development of the wind farm in the surrounding areas); and impacts on tourism. Often these meetings took the form of a political debate where four speakers were present, each representing a point on a spectrum ranging from conservatism to pro-industry and green activists. This

false binary positioning those with concerns for the climate alongside pro-industry energy companies is problematic and likely emerges from the climate change skepticism often found in these meetings (thus the experts likely represent a pro- and anti- climate change binary to those in attendance). Skepticism towards the science of climate change was often expressed during these meetings, with discussions among members of the public becoming heated. At a particular meeting during Oct 2011 in Newtown, whilst George Monbiot (journalist and political activist) was giving a pragmatic critique of the economics behind energy production (emphasising the need to take ownership of energy production instead of exploiting developing countries) a member of the audience stood and began shouting at the speakers: “you’re preaching your own religion”.

The same faces were often found in meetings – and I became familiar with a number of key activists. Some took an interest in this research project, and asked questions on the topic of study. This was often accompanied by note taking. During question sessions with speakers at these events, residents (as activists) displayed a detailed knowledge and expertise of the technology, often quoting scientific research to support their comments. At times these scientific sources were often flawed and a number of commentators often displayed signs of confirmation bias or lack of understanding of the scientific community leading them to attribute equal bearing to fringe researchers as they would scientific consensus (evident in calls for a ‘balanced’ argument). However, this ‘lay expertise’ that was expressed has been subject to research in the literature (Epstein, 1995; Kerr *et al.*, 1998; Jauffret-Roustide, 2009; Collins and Evans, 2002) and may represent a body of knowledge that would benefit planning and research approaches that have as of yet disregarded or marginalised the inclusion of residents.

In addition to attending public meetings, preliminary research was undertaken by attending an organised 7 mile walk amongst turbines with the group ‘Socially Leicestershire’ (Figure 8). Despite being based in Gilmorton, Leicestershire and not in the target area of the current study, the walk allowed for the exploration

of walking methodologies by talking to the participants on the walk about my methodological ideas and discussing various approaches with them. I also sought to evaluate how the participants of the walk responded to the turbines in the countryside and how this experience shaped their perceptions of the objects. In order to do this I asked each participant 6 questions via email following the event seeking to find out about the things the stood out on the walk, how they walk made them think about nature and the countryside and asking them to provide a narrative of the day and of the walk. Again here responses supported previous preliminary findings (and findings supported throughout the main study). These included responses to turbines focusing on issues related to a distrust of politics or the motives behind wind energy development and a lack of engagement with the 'ordinary' person during the construction and planning phases of development:

Figure 8, Walking amongst the turbines during preliminary field work



“Since I read the business papers 7 days a week, I am amongst those who question the appropriateness and necessity of WTs being planted in an

environment close to residential housing – and the question of whether it’s all a ‘political’ statement made by successive governments to boast how they are meeting an EU target - and individual landowners/investors are jumping onto the back of this to make money through selling back to the National Grid – irrespective as to what this does to the landscape and the feelings of the ordinary person living nearby!” (Bill, April 2013).

Methodologically the approach suffered from a low response rate as interviews were conducted following the event over email. Despite providing some preliminary findings, this approach was dropped in favor of face-to-face interviews in latter strategies allowing for more a conversational interview style that facilitated a richer data collection.

The walk also presented a turning point in my own research journey and by confronting the objects of my study I began to consider alternative approaches to understanding turbines. Prior to this the turbines presented themselves as an object that always eluded understanding and thus required greater research in order to be understood – with the assumption that the answer to the problem was ‘out there’ to be discovered. It is at this point during the research that I considered that the turbines may not themselves be explainable but rather, in their inability to be accommodated, represent the discordance in my understanding or my philosophical approaches to research. This led to a journey analysing wind energy in the terms of psychoanalytical theory (turbine as *objet petit a*) and an exploration of themes within the psychoanalytical discourse that seek to account for and move beyond the site of antagonism (that in this case emerges due to the limitations with the current economic system). This approach seeks not to understand the object but rather identifies it as a symptom of a larger, underlying issue; and, although the medical basis for psychoanalysis has been largely discredited, as a discourse or philosophical tradition it can help to raise interesting approaches that may otherwise be absent from the literature. These concepts are discussed in chapter 2 where the limitations within these approaches are outlined and a methodology is proposed that builds on and develops this line of flight.

An additional walk was organised as part of the ESRC Festival of Social Science prior to second phase data analysis (Figure 9). A group of eight volunteers were taken on a walk close to the Nant Yr Arian site and were encouraged to discuss their thoughts on wind turbines and the planned developments in Mid-Wales. Invitations for the walk were sent to community groups throughout Mid-Wales and transport was provided from Aberystwyth to ensure that those without transport were able to make the walk should they wish. A few of the walkers were from the local rambling organisation and expressed a clear anti-turbine development stance (in line with the stance of the organisation); one walker joined from the local Greenpeace group and the other walkers were general members of the public.

Figure 9, Poster of walk amongst the turbines



Some MSc students and lecturers also joined the walk. Participants were given cameras and asked to document their walk, taking pictures of things that appeared interesting to them as we walked along the landscape, moving closer to the turbines before navigating a path around the nine turbine development at Ystumtuen. The walk had a threefold purpose, firstly to explore participatory research methodologies combining walking and photography to explore

potential concepts for future research following the current study; secondly to engage the local community in social science research, providing a politically neutral space where local people who feel strongly on this issue are able to perform their own research – leading the research process through the use of participatory methods; and thirdly as a piece of research in itself, providing a rich source of data that inform the approaches in the present study.

During this walk it was found that the use of photography had potential in capturing moments of creativity that may otherwise be missed. However this approach required greater dedication from participants, and would not be applicable for capturing the experiences of tourists moving through the landscape and beyond the reach of the study before I was able to collect the camera and discuss their images. It would be interesting to follow up the current study with more work in this area, exploring interactions of bodies within the landscape through photography, working with local people as participants to allow for extended discussions on the images created.

The next section of this chapter will discuss preliminary work undertaken in Whitelee Wind Farm visitor centre. Here, work specifically sought to consider the interactions between visitors/tourists and the wind turbines and how I could begin to develop an approach to answer my research questions.

Case Study: Developing a wind farm into a tourist attraction:

Whitelee Wind Farm visitor centre

In exploring the potential for wind energy to function as part of a tourist attraction, it is interesting to discuss Europe's largest wind farm, sited on the Eaglesham Moor, approximately 13 miles drive from central Glasgow. The wind farm is home to 215 turbines that can generate 539MW of energy, enough to power 290,000 homes and plans are currently underway to extend this development by a further 12MW, boosting the capacity to cover over 300,000 homes. However, in addition to the wind turbines, the site houses a visitor centre

and 70km of trails that can be freely accessed by the public. These trails are used for cycling, walking and horse riding and allow visitors to get up close to the turbines that tower over the landscape. The site presents an interesting case study as alongside the development of the wind farm, the £2 million visitor centre has become a tourist attraction itself and has recently joined the Association of Scottish Visitor Attractions (ASVA), after recording nearly 250,000 visitors since 2009. The site has received consistently positive comments from visitors, for the opportunities it provides them to walk, cycle and enjoy the countryside in the surroundings of the technology. When walking around the site, a visitor is able to experience the magnitude of the turbines as they tower over, and the sound as the huge blades cut through the wind – a sound that is inimitable. Indeed, this sound has been the subject of public protest despite evidence suggesting no adverse impact on health (Colby *et al.*, 2009). Despite the profusion of this other worldly sound when close to the turbines, turning a corner and walking towards the visitor centre results in the sound quieting to a dim hum, whilst the turbines remain in view. The view of the turbines from the visitor centre can be seen below in Figure 10.

Figure 10, View from the visitor centre



Targeting a wide demographic of visitors, the site offers facilities for both children and adults, visiting residents, day visitors and education tourists. This case study explores the facilities available at the site and the development process of the centre drawing on observation and unstructured interviews during a site visit in July 2012.

Facilities and features of the site

The visitor centre is best explained by separating the site into three distinct areas: the shop and café, the learning hub and the exhibition. These three areas are housed within the single building located close to the front entrance of the wind farm with its own dedicated car park.

Located within the car park is a blade from one of the turbines, demonstrating the sheer size of the machinery and offering a photo opportunity to visitors. In its unfamiliarity the object draws the eye and encourages further inspection. I stood in front of the object and stretch my arms wide comparing myself to the blade. A colleague took a photo, but my figure is barely visible, dwarfed due to the size of the blade. On entering the building, the visitor is met by a reception desk and information point that features a number of posters and flyers for upcoming events at the site. Adjacent to this desk is an opening that opens into an open plan café/shop where visitors are able to purchase wind farm related gifts (such as t-shirts, paperweights, postcards, jewelry) in addition to scientifically themed children's toys (likely due to the partnership with Glasgow Science Centre that will be discussed shortly). The café offers a selection of hot and cold foods, drinks and children's meals, which are served in the view of a large window that overlooks the wind farm. The environment is quiet and light, and the wooden beams and structures that overarch the café help to create an image of a space that has considered the ecology of the area. This is reinforced through posters, emphasising the conscious construction of the facility, explaining to visitors that the site is an extension of the nature seen through the windows. Posters

throughout link the site with nature projects from the RSPB, electric car charging stations outside of the site allow visitors to charge their environmentally friendly vehicles and signs highlight the use of renewable energy sources in powering the site. An example of some of this material is seen below in Figure 11.

Figure 11, Nature diary from the visitor centre, where young people are able to record the things that they see around the site.



Teri Nicklin, SPR Marketing said: “Ultimately the targets of the site were to make something that was truly sustainable and to give people access to such a unique resource. Everything we did at the centre was done to the highest standard, even the material it was built from – we’ve got natural timber, we’ve got natural ventilation in the building and we use natural lighting. The site has an electric vehicle charging area and we use recycled water and use local supplies in the café and shops. Basically it gets access to one of the most unique sites in Europe”

During interview, Janice noted that the site aimed to provide a ‘balanced’ account of the debate surrounding wind turbines and indeed both sides of the debate are represented. To the degree this could be considered balanced is debatable and dependent on the use of the term; if this term is referring to a representation of

the debate in the terms of the scientific consensus on wind energy then indeed it is accurate. However, if balance is here referring to equal representation of both sides of the turbine debate (maybe this could be referred to as 'false balance'?, Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004) then indeed it does not fulfill this criteria, and the site appears to be a successfully operating PR exercise in support of wind energy. Arguably, in this case, a 'false balance' may have an appropriate place within the wind turbine debate where both sides of the conflict have the right to contribute on issues of power relations and identity can emerge.

Janice McLaughlin, Director of Onshore Development said: "it was there really to provide an impartial educational resource – it is not there to promote the wind farm, which is probably clear from the material you've seen online. It's there to provide a balance to all sides of the debate and wider information around renewable energy and wind farm development"

The exhibition space presents an example of successful science communication. Here a number of attractions are present for visitors to engage with, most notably a quiz where visitors can take a picture of their face to be superimposed on a wind turbine while answering questions. The questions are informative and the answers provide some interesting insights into wind power. One notable example that surprised both myself and colleagues was on the time required before a wind energy development had paid off construction costs (far less than expected) and another explained the most efficient wind blade designs (interestingly rejected as they are less visually appealing). Other activities include hands on engagement with demonstrations of wind energy construction sites, allowing visitors to construct their own 'wind farm' and a video sought to link Whitelee with the historical tradition of industrial development in Scotland. The turbines are thus positioned within a symbolic dimension of perception that links them with 'higher concepts' (Devine-Wright, 2005) such as an established national industrial heritage and global concerns over energy production (as in Pasqualetti, 2000) (see Figure 12 below). This aspect of the site is managed by Glasgow Science Centre. SRP note that 'visitors centres are not what [they] do' and so a process was opened whereby science communication organisations can

bid on the opportunity to design and manage a visitor centre on the site. This bidding process was won by Glasgow Science Centre, who already had a preexisting relationship with SRP, working with them on a number of outreach projects – bringing science demos to galleries and public exhibitions and working with other communities close to wind farms. An education space is present within the visitor centre where schools and visitors can participate in classroom style demonstrations. The room is brightly coloured with children's drawings on the walls, and the equipment placed around the peripheries of the room give it the appearance of a messy lab – a welcoming atmosphere for young scientists. Talking with one of the technicians present at the site, it appears that during demonstrations visitors are given a hands-on taught workshop, building their own wind turbines and engaging with the science in a way that is entertaining. Glasgow science centre also run guided bus tours around the wind farm, providing the opportunity for tourists to get up-close to the technology in a way that they may have not been otherwise able. Here the turbines are carefully framed as objects worthy of intrigue and curiosity, ready for the awaiting eyes of the exploring semioticians (Urry, 2011, p. 13).

Figure 12, Tiled wall from the exhibition area of the site



In addition to the attractions available to tourists, the visitor centre operates as a venue that can be hired out - an endeavor that appears to have emerged organically without previous planning. Following the requests from visitors, the site has now become a venue for meetings, parties and special events. Despite SRP noting that this was not a significant venture for them and is 'just nice to have' it is interesting to note the significance that has been placed on such ventures on the website. Both venue hire and birthday parties have their own sections within the visitor centre page, as well as access to the venue hire guide, a birthday party brochure and images that advertise the venue. Whitelee also host their own events at the wind farm including a 'meet the expert' series, where visitors can learn 'Whitelee-related things' from visiting speakers. Recent speakers include RSPB representatives and Scottish Power Renewables own habitat and biodiversity ecologist. More innovative and unusual use of the site is seen in posters that are positioned throughout the visitor centre, advertising opportunities for turbine tai chi within the wind farm, and mother and toddler walking groups (Figure 13).

Figure 13, Turbine Tai Chi poster



Teri: “they’re just nice to have. In all honesty it wasn’t something we were anticipating and it came about from demand from members of the public. People go up there and they just love it and we kept getting requests from people asking to hire it for different events so it was just really a response to demand”

Development of the visitor centre

SPR have noted that in the beginning of the development, the intention to build a visitor centre was not an intention and through discussions with stakeholders an opportunity emerged to ‘do something different’.

Janice: “It emerged early on in the development process of the wind farm as a gem of an idea and evolved over time, during discussions with councils and other stakeholders. The development process for wind farms are very long and whitelee was probably as much as 10 years in the development process, so its not something that happened quickly, its something that evolved over a period of time during discussions. Early on we could see that this wind farm was quite unique, very large, largest in Europe by a long shot and very close to large centres of population and there was an obvious opportunity to do something different here.”

As the largest wind farm in Europe, Whitelee represents a unique site offering not only an opportunity to gaze at something out of the ordinary but an opportunity to see what was at the time, a key symbol of the independent Scotland campaign.

They note that the response to the visitor centre has been ‘overwhelmingly’ positive, with visitors travelling from both the local vicinity but also internationally. They note a number of key regular customers often visit throughout the week to enjoy the café and the scenery for walking and often families visit during the weekend.

Teri: “we’re overwhelmed with the positivity we get back. People comment on the peace and quiet at the site, the tranquility, the access it grants them to the wider site. In all honesty, we’ve been astounded at the positivity we’ve received, people have really taken ownership of it, especially a lot of local people – they feel it is their wind farm.”

And indeed the site is something that can be enjoyed. Despite concerns often noted about the noise of turbines, experiencing the wind farm at a distance and at the foot of a wind turbine can really help to alleviate concerns. Whilst standing at the visitor centre, not more than 10 minutes walk from the nearest turbine the ‘whooshing’ that dominates the landscape when standing at the base of a turbine is barely audible.

And thus it is arguable that the underlying intention of the development is revealed. The development appears to be tailored to address common concerns over wind energy, targeting those that are often most expressed by anti-turbine lobby groups. The partnership with the RSPB is most notable, reversing the often quoted view that wind turbine developments are detrimental to bird populations, sharing the concerns of the general public on the issue but also positioning Whitelee as an area of conservation. However, during interview, when asked on this issue, SRP rejected that this was their intention:

Janice: “If we were to develop a wind farm and we had local opposition, would we propose a visitor centre to try to alleviate some fears? I would say probably not. Its probably a separate issue – I don’t see that.”

The potential for the visitor centre to actually work to alleviate concern and accurately present 'controversy' is an area that requires further research, but current research in visitor studies at science centres would suggest that such approaches can be problematic (for example, Macdonald and Silverstone, 1992's, detailed account of representations of controversy at the Science Museum). Teri however made note of the impact the visitor centre may have on community

groups and made explicit mention of tackling misconceptions concerning noise pollution:

Teri: "I think what it does help, if you ever have any community groups who are unsure or who have never experienced a wind farm before, we find when we take them up to Whitelee, we show them the visitor centre and when you go there you're literally 100metres away from a turbine and you see them all turning and hear how quiet they are and experience – and you go, if that's the largest wind farm in Europe you've got the experience first hand of being in amongst the turbines and speaking to staff at the visitor centre. We often find that people who've never experienced turbines coming to the visitor centre helps."

Engaging with the political nature of wind energy

Janice noted the recent visit of Welsh Energy Minister, John Griffiths, suggesting at the presence of the political interest that would allow for the development of a similar project in Wales; however, the viability of such a project would require greater research. Whitelee presents an interesting case study of what undoubtedly is a successfully operating visitor centre within a wind farm development. The resource provides a site of engagement for local communities in a near by wind farm project and itself is dependent on these communities for their use of its resources – the extent of this dependency was not made clear by SRP. In addition, the partnership with Glasgow science centre allows the educational resources of the GSC to extend beyond the city and provide an educational resource for local communities that is indeed in the interest of SRP. This was noted during interview:

Janice: "Its not that you would propose a visitor centre at every wind farm to overcome peoples fears, but as an educational resource, if people at other development sites have concerns we're able to bring them along to Whitelee and let them see and to help them understand."

This top down approach (alluding to outdated deficit theories of understanding, p.16) may indeed impose limitations to the extent that visitors can be 'helped to understand' but nevertheless this interest in engagement from both parties, mediated through the visitor centre, allows for an attraction that is enjoyable. The experience at the visitor centre is best compared to Nant Yr Arian visitor centre, whereby revenue is generated in the main through the café and coffee shop, supported by the gift shop. Likewise, the visitor centre operates as an educational resource that may bring schools and community groups into the area. The most notable differences in Whitelee is their promotion of 'alternative' classes and uses of the landscape in exercises which may help to bring additional groups of visitors to the area. It is also worth noting that a site in Mid-Wales would not benefit from being located to a major population site such as Glasgow and this will be required to be factored in to any proposal.

Indeed, the experience at the site is enjoyable and provides a new level of engagement with the technology that surround the centre, however if we are to consider some of the latter points noted in this chapter, some limitations may be revealed. Like Grit's visit to the museum, the space permits enjoyment in a way that is controlled and specified, and visitor engagement remains passive. The ways within which visitors can engage with the technology is clearly defined either through walkways and cycle routes that weave an acceptable (maybe the most picturesque) path around the wind farm, or through structured sessions and interactions mediated through a tour guide/museum exhibition. Designated paths are outlined for the visitor to travel through on the landscape, although there is a possibility for one to wander off the path and get closer to the turbine and come face to face to the spinning blades. Although more unusual 'becomings' that may result may draw some stares. This raises questions on the potential of the space to provoke debate, new ideas and new ways of thinking – something that I have argued is essential to address distrust and disillusionment that drive perceptions of the technology and of climate science. Or maybe the space does have this potential but it emerges in a way that is not visible immediately to the visitor until a moment of serendipity? Or maybe this potential exists within all spaces?

Potential within the encounters at Whitelee

In concluding this section, I now wish to consider my research questions and reflect on how the sorts of responses I had during preliminary research at Whitelee can inform the study:

Impacts on visitor behavior

The site visit and corresponding interviews did not suggest any negative impact on visiting behavior to the region from the construction of the site. However, unlike the area under investigation in the current work, the site was not formally known for its 'natural' beauty and did not have a pre-existing tourism product. The site was a new development in an otherwise vacant site – and thus avoided potential conflicts with preexisting expectations of visitors. Although we are unable to determine any negative impact from the site – the successful application of a visitor centre alongside the wind turbine development suggests that there is demand for such a concept from the public. Visitors clearly took an interest in the facilities offered by the site – both those dependent on the unique nature of the development and its positionality to the wind turbines (Tai Chi amongst the turbines, science workshops, etc.) and those independent to the wind turbines (the café, toilet facilities for walkers, etc.). The visitor centre transformed the large-scale industrial facility into a site accessible to tourists – and it is difficult to imagine the presence of visitors in its absence.

How do people respond to wind energy developments in rural landscapes?

In thinking about this question, I am required to reflect on my own reactions and experiences walking around the wind turbines at Whitelee. The presentation of the turbines at the site created an opportunity for me to examine them as a curiosity as a visitor. Indeed, the first time we are presented with a turbine is at the entrance of the site where a large blade is presented alone in the car park as a staged photo opportunity for visitors. I stood in front of the blade and stretched

out my arms as my colleague took my photo. As we looked at the photograph the sheer size of the turbine blades became clear, this single blade reducing me to a minor feature in the photo. We then walked the paths between the turbines and had the opportunity to come face to face with the structures. The noise of the spinning blades cutting the air, and the sheer scale of the structures were startling – and a colleague commented that they were concerned that at times the blades felt too close for comfort as they rotated above our heads. The scale of the blades and vertical structure were difficult to comprehend – incomparable to anything experienced in everyday life. Experiencing these structures up close gave the landscape surrounding the visitor site an otherworldly appearance, filling visitors with awe and wonder at both the technical marvel required to build these huge structures - and the way the movement of the blades gives the turbine an appearance of life. Its interesting to consider that experiencing the turbine in this way may provide an opportunity for the visitor to glimpse the nexus of where life and technology meet, drawing new parallels between the world they see around them created by humans and the world created through millions of years of evolution.

Developing a response to climate change through tourism?

Here the site may be particularly successful as it allows visitors to learn more about renewable energy and to experience some of the science around climate change in a way that is entertaining. The visitor centre hosted a number of attractions that proved to be interesting and provided me with information that I had not known prior to visiting. The partnership with Glasgow Science Museum is also interesting as it establishes a formal relationship with a science communication centre that can provide teaching to young people with greater impartiality than the organisation dependent on renewable energy for its income.

As noted the key forms of engagement however remain trapped within a top down approach of ‘educating’ visitors on the technology – with some of the more

interesting and potentially productive ideas emerging as a by-product of the development (e.g. the wind turbine tai chi), emerging as ideas from patrons of the site who then established their own uses of the facilities. It is these latter sessions that may offer an opportunity for visitors to gain an understanding of the turbines – up close – opening up the possibility to think differently about how they understand what these structures mean, and how they fit into a long term strategy to address anthropogenic global warming. These ideas do suggest a potential within these sites if more spaces were given to allow unstructured creativity from visitors, allowing them to develop their own response to the structures and create opportunities to share these with others.

Ways of measuring this?

Proposing the potential within these new ways of encountering the technology does propose some new challenges on recording and measuring the impact of these experiences – and the potential that these experiences create for visitors. The reflective process I undertook following the visit, recording my experiences and interactions proved useful in writing this section and a similar reflective diary may be useful to record some of the responses to participants. The applicability in the current study is limited however as visitors will not be able to be contacted following the initial meeting. A degree of training would also be needed to allow participants to ‘see’ in the way required in order to engage with the experience in a way that would provide meaningful information. In chapter 2, I have explored how we may begin to analyse some of these experiences, drawing on participant-led processes and creating a more open form of interview/conversation to allow the participant greater flexibility to lead the conversation allowing for these more creative moments to be captured.

Concluding remarks

Within this chapter I have outlined some of the preliminary research conducted as part of this thesis. The work outlined in this chapter had a significant impact

in shaping the direction of the current project, and helped to clarify and inform my ideas in latter parts of the project discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Indeed Whitelee's provided a case study of a successfully implemented visitor attraction based around the wind turbines. This fed into the development of the survey utilised in Chapter 4, where the potential for a similar development is explored within Mid-Wales which in contrast to the Glasgow site has a more nature focused destination image. Within Chapter 4, I explored the potential for a site similar to that developed in Whitelee to be adopted in Mid Wales – where the wind turbines become positioned as something unusual for Tourists to Gaze upon and learn about whilst they are able to take advantage of the facilities and greater access provided by a development. Within this chapter I highlight that although there is potential within this site to provide an educational resource, the highly structured nature of the engagement has the possibility of potentially limiting the sorts of 'creative becomings' I seek to explore opportunities to nurture. These areas of limitation were explored within the walk around the turbines where less of a structure both in terms of the research process and the visit itself within the walk allowed for interesting interactions within the landscape to emerge and be collected. This process allowed some of the methodological approaches to be tested and trialed, and resulted in the method that is utilised in Chapter 5.

The current project will now seek to start a conversation that will continue with the trajectory began here in answering these questions, exploring the potential within the encounter with the turbine in the sightseeing space to open up lines of flight, creating possibilities for new ways of imagining these spaces.

Chapter 4: Results – Participant Survey

Introduction

During July and August 2012; 152 surveys were conducted with visitors at three sites in Mid-Wales – Bwlch Nant yr Arian visitor centre, Aberystwyth tourist Information Centre (TIC), and the Hafod Hotel, Devils Bridge. These locations were selected based on their proximity to the then proposed project at Nant Yr Arian, suitability of the site for research (at these locations it was possible to easily approach tourists and they held a greater footfall than some alternatives), accessibility to power points for electronic equipment used throughout the study and the availability of photomontages from the Nant Yr Moch Developers webpage

Sample

152 interviews were conducted with visitors. In addition to the collection of questionnaire data, 15.1 hours of interview material was recorded. It is not suggested that this sample offers a homogenous account of tourists visiting each of the destinations as at each destination the type of tourist visiting may be different, due to the differing tourism products offered at each site (Nant yr Arian offers walking, cycling, and an opportunity to see the feeding of the Red Kites; Aberystwyth is a small town offering shopping, site seeing etc). There is however likely to be overlap. As Mid-Wales is an area that already features a number of wind turbine developments, it is also likely that visitors may already be aware and undeterred from visiting in the presence of wind energy projects. Therefore, the current sample may provide an insight into the impact of increased development, and not the impacts of wind energy itself on visiting behavior or attitudes.

9.2% of the sample identified themselves as a 'resident'. This equates to 14 individuals and does not provide a large enough sample to be considered reliable

to compare this subpopulation with the sample in whole. The majority of visitors were visiting for one week, and noted their main reason for visiting to be for the scenery, landscape and countryside (56.5%). Ten point five per cent identified the beaches as the main reason for visiting, and a further 7.2% stated that it was to visit friends and relatives. This result is comparable to findings by visit wales in 2009 and 2011, where visiting the countryside was found to be the main reason for over two thirds of the sample; and supports the findings of NFO 2003, where 97% of tourists surveyed identified the 'unspoilt views of the landscape' as either very important, or important. Thirty eight per cent of the sample had not previously visited the area, meaning that the majority of those interviewed were repeat visitors.

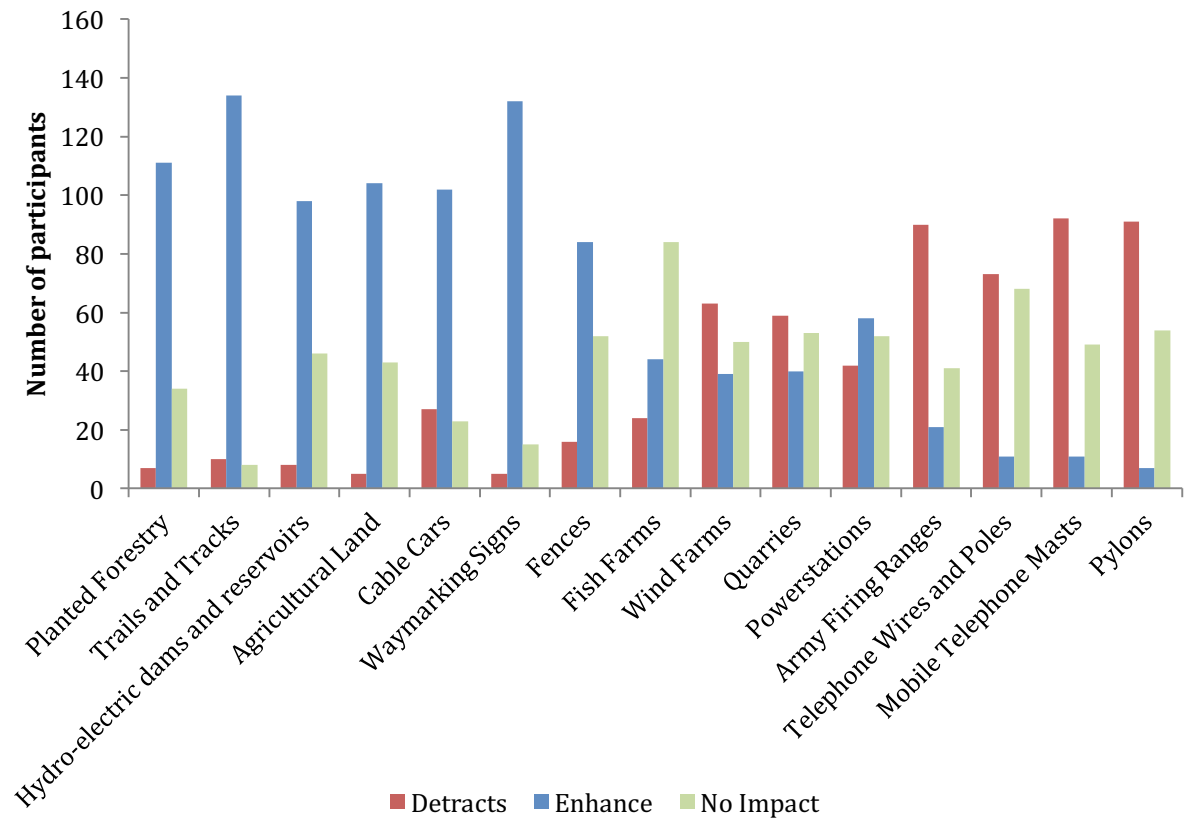
In a question adapted from NFO (2003), participants were asked, "what do you think is the main reason for visiting wales?" (The original question asked, "What is your main reason for visiting"). An adaptation of the original question was necessary in order to be able to also include the responses of residents in the study and to avoid the difficulty in defining a 'tourist'. Indeed, although a number of participants had travelled from abroad to visit the region, a large number of participants were visiting from an area within driving distance to visit the area for the day. Here the distinction between tourist and resident breaks down, and it made little sense to filter participants based on a predetermined arbitrary distance of travel.

Participant responses – section 1

Participants were shown a list of landscape features and asked for each to state if the feature would either 'enhance', 'detract' or have 'no impact' on their experience as a visitor in Mid-Wales. Participants were overall positive about the first seven features, indifferent about 'fish farms', split fairly evenly on opinion on the next three categories (including wind farms) and were overall negative about the last four (Figure 14). Interestingly, the result obtained for wind farms is comparable to that for quarries, which already have a long-standing history in

Wales and would arguably be an expected feature when visiting. Some quarries have become tourist attractions in their own right, being developed into nature reserves and representing a piece of Welsh heritage.

Figure 14, Participant perception of each landscape feature



Facilities that offered a direct benefit to the tourist (e.g. Cable cars, way marking signs, etc) also rated higher than infrastructure developments (telephone wires and poles, pylons) that may also provide an essential role in the attraction.

Pylons and mobile telephone masts were the most negatively perceived developments. The first of these has been a source of public criticism – to the extent to which the national grid led to an investigation in 2011 into developing a design more appealing to the public. These results support those in NFO (2003). Planted forestry, trails, and other traditionally ‘natural’ developments rated higher with participants and pylons and wiring were ranked significantly lower.

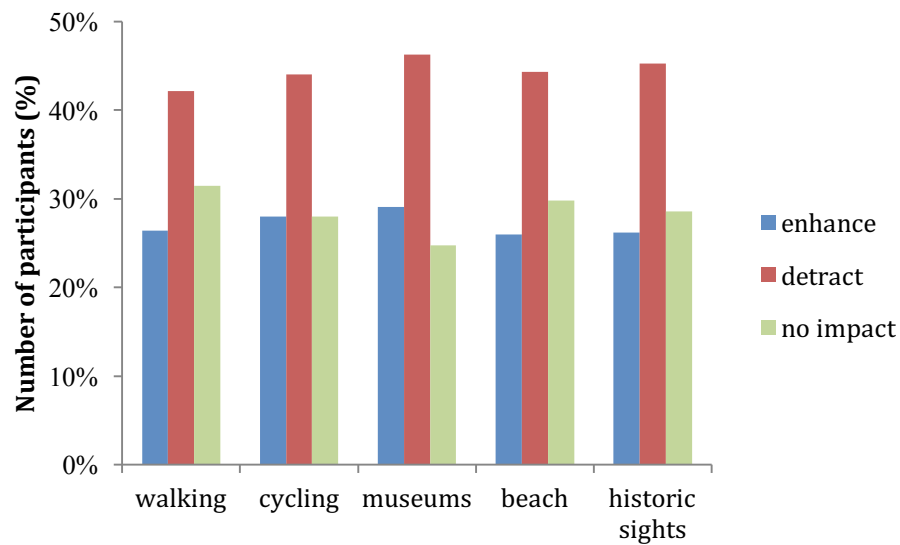
During the survey participants were asked to rate their interest in a number of activities (walking, cycling, visiting museums, visiting the beach, and visiting historic sites). For each of these activities, participants could say if they had already completed the activity, were planning to undertake the activity, were interested but not planning at the current stage or required further information, or if they were not interested. As the focus of this study, the results above on wind energy were compared to responses from participants that were interested in each activity (had already undertaken, planned to undertake or were interested in undertaking the activity, see Figure 15). Comparing the standard deviation for the results shown below, suggests that there is little difference between activity types and perceptions of wind energy (small standard deviation amongst means for each activity, see table 4).

Table 4, Standard deviation of responses amongst each activity, expressed as a fraction of total responses for that activity.

	Standard Deviation
Enhance	0.013
Detract	0.015
No impact	0.025

As those that go walking and cycling are more likely to come face to face to wind turbines, they represent an activity that has the potential to be impacted to a greater extent by a development. As no significant difference in opinion on wind energy emerges between participants that said they would or would not take part in cycling or walking; in this sample, it can therefore be assumed that factors that influence visitors interest in recreational activities has no significant impact on their perception of wind energy i.e. walkers are no more put off by/enthused by wind energy than cyclists or beach visitors. These results are demonstrated below in Figure 16. It is however interesting to note that despite this, amongst all activities a higher proportion of respondents noted that wind turbines would 'detract' from their experience, than have 'no impact' or 'enhance' the experience.

Figure 15, Comparable percentages of perceptions of wind energy for participants that are interested in each type of activity.

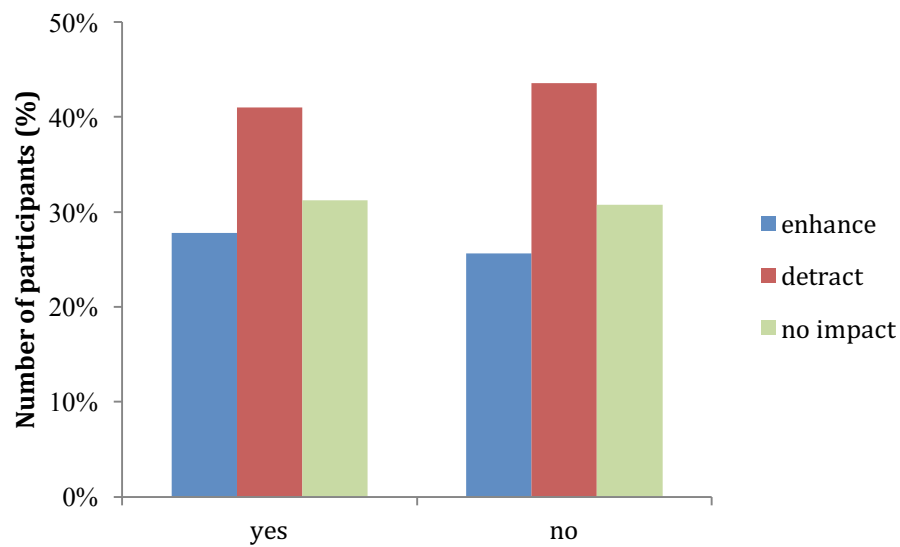


The third section of the questionnaire presented participants with an image of the (then) proposed development at Nant Yr Moch, with respect to their current location – e.g. in surveys conducted in Devils Bridge, participants were presented with an image of the proposed development from Devils Bridge. These images were created by the developer of the Nant Yr Moch project and were available online. Three images were used throughout the summer interviews, two were wireframe design proposals and one was a photomontage of the proposed development where images of turbines were superimposed onto a photograph of the current landscape. For each image a before and after view was presented, allowing participants to perceive the proposed changes in landscape for the questions that followed. Participants were then asked, in light of the images if they would:

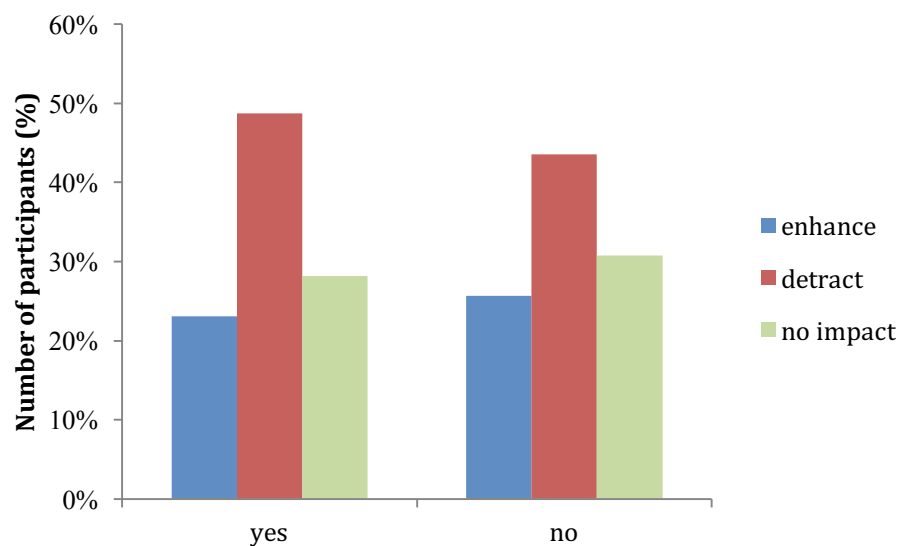
- a. Change their visiting behavior by visiting ‘more often’, ‘less often’ or if there would be ‘no impact’.
- b. Change their duration of stay by visiting for a ‘longer period’, a ‘shorter period’, or if there would be ‘no impact’.

Figure 16, (a) demonstrates the difference in responses from visitors who planned, had attended or were interested (said 'yes' in response to the question) in walking against those that were not interested ('no'). (b) Demonstrates the responses from visitors with regard to cycling. The data in the charts below are configured to account for the size of the sample in the 'yes' and 'no' categories and are thus presented as percentages.

a. Walking

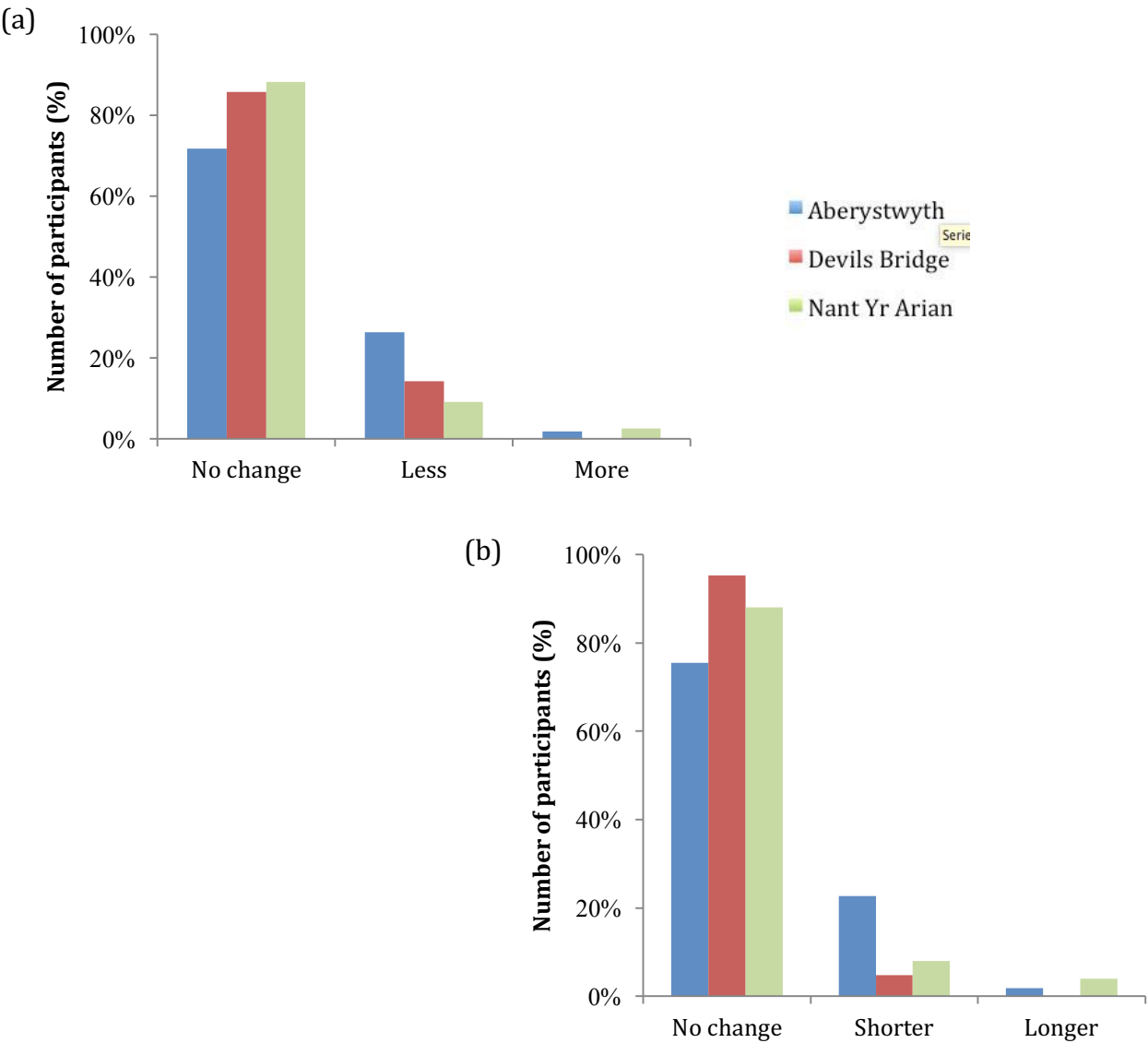


b. Cycling



The majority of participants stated that no change would occur in their behavior at each of the sites for both questions (Figure 17). A minority did identify that they would visit less often or for a shorter period. In previous studies, these individuals have been referred to as a ‘significant minority’ (NFO World Group, 2002, 2003); in an area highly dependent on tourism such as Mid Wales any decrease in visitor numbers could have a significant impact on the economy as a whole. It is thus worth spending some time further exploring this minority.

Figure 17, responses from participants when asked about their visiting behavior (a) and duration (b)



Of these participants that would visit less often, a greater number were encountered at the site in Aberystwyth, followed by Nant Yr Arian. It is possible however that at Aberystwyth, the use of wireframe images to display the proposed development from constitution hill had an impact on this result. These images however may have put greater emphasis on the visibility of the development than can be expected in a real development, where turbines would be able to blend in with the skyline and fauna. Indeed, it was often noted by participants where photomontages were used in Nant Yr Arian that the turbines were difficult to note in the images. This would not explain the greater percentage of visitors who noted they were less likely to visit Nant yr Arian than Devils Bridge (where wireframes were also used). This increase at Nant Yr Arian may be due to the perception from visitors that the siting of the development is likely to have an impact on one of the main view points opposite the visitor centre. However, this result remains surprising considering the number of wind turbines already present in the surrounding area of the site at Nant Yr Arian. It was interesting to note that whilst interviewing participants, a number were not aware of the turbines that surrounded them throughout the interview. Sometimes participants would strongly object to the positioning of turbines within an environment, which they considered natural and untouched, despite a number of turbines already positioned around the perimeter of the site. The history of Nant Yr Arian also makes it an interesting case, as despite being perceived as being a natural development, the lake and the site itself is a product of the industrial past of the region, the lake being a man-made object to assist in the mining of lead at the site. The mining history of the region is reproduced by one of the signposted walks that take visitors along the pathway that miners would have traveled. In Section 2 of this chapter, the reliability of estimating this 'significant minority' and the use of a quantitative method of enquiry as a whole is challenged.

A final section of the questionnaire asked visitors to respond on a scale of 1-5 the extent to which they agreed with the following statements:

- a. How interested would they be in visiting a wind farm development if a visitor centre was opened?
- b. How interested are they in a holiday that helped you reduce their carbon footprint (for the same price)?
- c. What if this holiday was more expensive?

These questions sought to begin to look beyond considering the impacts of the technology, and towards an exploration of the *potential* offered in the proposed wind energy developments. Within the current chapter, this idea is explored through a consideration of the potential to develop a wind energy attraction as has been seen elsewhere (such as in the case study at Whitelee, pg. 88).

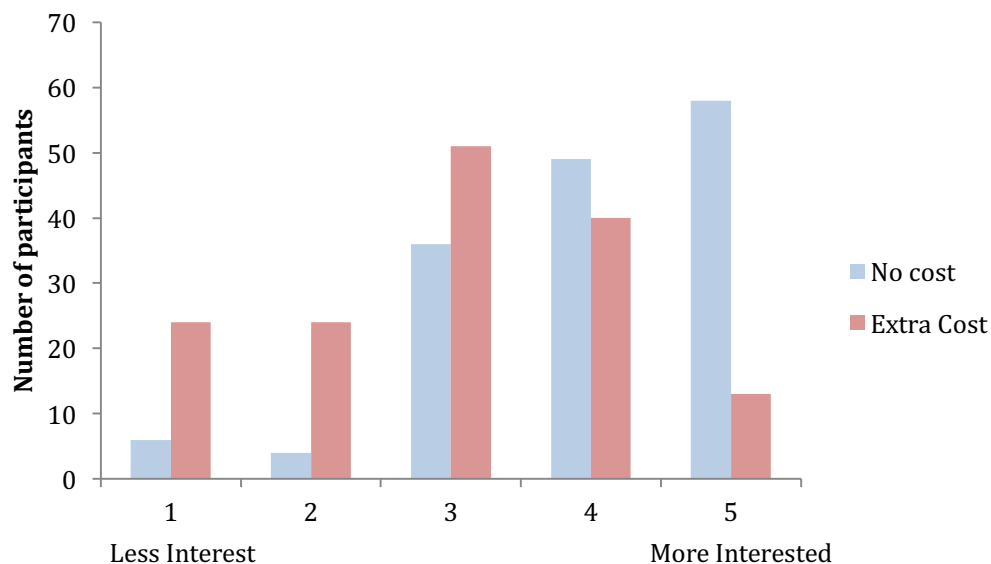
Table 5, Interest in attending a wind farm attraction and visitor type

	Travelling though the area	Staying locally	Day visit	Attending an event	Resident	Other	Totals
Not intere sted (1)	4	6	8	4	3	5	30
2	4	7	7	1	0	1	20
3	1	14	7	1	2	3	28
4	4	17	4	4	5	2	36
Very Intere sted (5)	8	14	7	1	4	5	39
Totals	21	58	33	11	14	16	153

When asked how interested participants would be in visiting a wind energy attraction such as this, the results were fairly evenly distributed from ‘not interested’ (1) to ‘very interested’ (5). Visitors who were staying locally for an extended visit were more likely to show interest in visiting a wind farm attraction.

When asked about their interest in a holiday that offered an opportunity to reduce their carbon footprint, visitors were on the whole positive until additional cost was involved (see Figure 18 below).

Figure 18, Responses from participants when asked of their interest in a holiday that would reduce their carbon footprint



Although it is possible to note that the additional cost did have an impact on interest in a low carbon holiday, the motives behind this decrease are not possible to be determined and a number of possible scenarios could explain this correlation. For example, this impact may just as likely be due to a lack of funds available within the participant’s holiday budget, as to be due to a lack of interest in paying for a low carbon holiday. It is however interesting to compare the perceptions of wind energy from section two to the interest in a low carbon holiday. Here those that saw wind turbines as an enhancement to their visit responded more positively to a low carbon offering, and more of these

participants expressed greater interesting despite there being an additional cost involved. Of those who said they were not interested (a value of '1'), a greater proportion of participants were those that noted that wind farms detracted from their experience as a visitor.

Table 6, Participant interest in a holiday that offset their carbon footprint within the same cost (a) and for an additional cost (b).

a)

	Enhances the experience	Detracts from the experience	No Impact
Not Interested (1)	0%	3%	8%
2	0%	6%	0%
3	10%	30%	26%
4	38%	29%	32%
Very Interested (5)	53%	32%	34%

b)

	Enhances the experience	Detracts from the experience	No Impact
Not Interested (1)	5%	24%	14%
2	13%	16%	18%
3	23%	35%	40%
4	40%	19%	24%
Very Interested (5)	18%	6%	4%
No Answer	3%	0%	0%

Participant responses – section 2

I will now seek to give the data above some context by consulting the responses provided by participants during the final qualitative stage of this phase of study and will attempt to highlight some potential issues with assessment that the aforementioned 'significant minority' of participants stated they will visit less often in response to a wind energy development. Although there are similarities that can be drawn between mixed methodologies and the approach currently applied, the use of semi-structured interviews towards the end of the survey sought not to triangulate the data, but rather to problematise it and to open up avenues for new lines of questioning in future stages of the project.

During this section participants were asked four questions:

1. What makes you consider a landscape to be aesthetically pleasing? What features do you find attractive? How does this effect your 'use' of the landscape as a visitor?
2. How aware are you of current climate change science and renewable energy? Are you interested? How do you find out your information? Does this effect your actions?
3. How do you think the construction of a wind farm project such as the one in the images could impact the experience for tourists? Both positive and negative impacts?
4. How do you consider your overall experience in Mid Wales as a destination? What will you remember from your visit and tell others?

The aim of this line of questioning sought to introduce a discussion into the participant's perceptions of nature and the environment, their perception of climate science, their perceived impacts of wind energy and how they consider these ideas to fit with Mid Wales as a destination.

Results

In order to present the results from the qualitative section of Genre 1, I will highlight a number of key themes that emerged from the discussions with participants.

1. Visual impacts and natural landscapes

During conversations with participants it became clear that the aesthetic qualities of the landscape was highly important, and the significance of the visual aspects of the areas was often commented upon when discussing the ‘natural’ landscapes of Mid Wales. It is through this visual engagement that the natural landscape is enjoyed by visitors, and although some participants visited to enjoy the experience of cycling or walking itself, for others these activities were undertaken in order for them to get a better view:

“What do I like to see? Green and kept as natural as possible. I’ve been coming to Wales since nine for my family holidays – we used to love going along the beach looking at things – I wasn’t the sitting on the sands looking at the sea building sand castles, I would look for flowers and shells and interesting things. We went to barmouth and I used to like the hills and my mother wasn’t a walker but we did eventually get up on the hills – there was a special walk and that was beautiful and you could look from the top of the hills over the estuary – and it is one of the most beautiful places on earth... I thought this is like coming home.” Simon, M, 62

Coming into the landscape was like ‘coming home’ – restating the conception that through a walk in nature, one is able to return briefly to a way of life more ‘natural’ than the life in the towns or cities. For participants this ‘natural’ landscape offered an escape from their daily urban lives, but for some the presence of wind turbines made them worry that this escape would not last forever:

"I think they look really intrusive" Sarah, F,33

"I like walking around and just looking at the scenery, because we come from an urban area. Just take it all in and be aware and its amazing – I'm afraid ultimately of a beautiful place like this becoming urbanised. Wind turbines, and then something else." John, M, 36

"I like this country, I don't like parts of it being altered and changed, but I understand for the greater good these things have to be done." David, M, 56

There was clear indication that the presence of turbines had a visual impact on some visitors, affecting their ability to see the landscape that they wished to visit and effecting their enjoyment.

"I think they're ugly, they spoil a lovely view – I just hope they're going to work – we saw some when we were coming over, and we saw three and obviously you were driving and all this beautiful and you get these big monsters and one wasn't even working!" Jane, F, 35

"I think seeing wind mills on tops of mountains and things doesn't do anything for me – I'm not worried about so-called noise from them but when they spoil the view – I like seeing the mountains as they should be and having trees on them sometimes isn't a good thing but certainly having too many windmills wouldn't be a good thing" Sarah, F, 33

2. Beyond the visual

Despite this clear impact from the visual presence of the turbines, a large number of respondents made it clear from their explanations that their perceptions of the turbines were more complex and due to a number of other factors beyond aesthetical preference. It is also clear that the quantitative section of Genre 1 was ill equipped to deal with issues of distrust that were revealed in through the qualitative interview section - raising questions of the reliability of the initial quantitative section (and of other studies that have employed a similar approach). Among some of the issues that emerged in this section of the study, ideas of distrust were mentioned by a large number of participants directed towards the politics and science behind wind developments as well as a distrust in me as a researcher and the current study itself. This concept of trust has been

well researched within the literature and has been argued to be a product of competence and sincerity (Craig 1990; Fricker 1998), notions of race and sexuality (Anderson, 1995; Code, 1990) and social hierarchies (Shapin, 1994; Addelson, 1983). Examples of how this distrust manifested are shown below.

a. Distrust in climate science

Here participants noted a distrust in the science of climate change. This is an area that has been widely researched and is arguably an area of research in its own right (e.g. Lorenzoni *et al.*, 2007; Poortinga and Pidgeon, 2003; Blake, 2001; Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002). Responses demonstrated a misunderstanding by those spoken to of some of the fundamental issues of climate change, as well as distrust in the information that they have been presented on the issue. In the quote below Sandra equates the general, wide spread warming effect of global warming to be in the interests of the UK. Such an assumption fails to consider the wide impacts on ecosystems from even a small increase in temperature, and fails to consider the impact on the North Atlantic Deep Water that may result in lower temperatures in the UK in the event of a warming event. When asked, the majority noted that their major sources of information on climate change and wind energy was newspapers and TV documentaries.

“its just on tv isn’t it, one minute they’re going yeh its going to get worse and the ice caps are going to melt, then its no we’re getting ready for another ice age. Okay, I don’t really worry about it too much it’s in gods hands.” Bill, M, 51

“Its all conflicting you know, it’s climate change now – it’s not global warming anymore. You know what I mean? You know, we discuss in work and people say ‘global warming? You know, great – better than raining in July!’. Yeh I’m skeptical I’ll be honest.” Sandra, F, 33

b. Distrust in the political motive behind the developments

In a similar way to the point noted above, participants noted a distrust in the sources through which they receive their information – specifically politicians and other experts. Potentially due to the expenses scandal that prominently

feature within the media at the time of interview, participants saw climate change as an opportunity for the enterprising to exploit for their own benefit.

“I’m very cynical about the aspect of climate change, we’ve done a lot of reading... we clutter all our most beautiful places with these wind turbines which only produce 15% of our power... I think the production of windmills is a cynical business opportunity and the fact the government are reducing grants now that everyone is hooked on them makes it less possible to produce them.” Harry, M, 28

“You always see so much negative publicity on the tv... you’re never sure who’s behind information – someone seems to be getting rich off the back of it” Tom, M, 25

“Multinationals will benefit and local people will suffer” Rhian, F, 33

c. Distrust in the effectiveness of the turbines

Here participants identified a lack of trust in the wind energy technology itself, expressing doubt in the technology’s ability to contribute towards renewable energy targets. Often participants noted that there was a need for the turbines to often be ‘switched off’ during periods of high activity, something that appears contradictory and suggests that the turbines are an improper solution. This critique often appears within the right-wing media, but this often represents only a small percentage of the potential yearly output of a development.

“I don’t like them – because the reason is, if it’s too windy they have to switch them off. Ive had this discussion in work with different people and you know porthcawl in south wales, they’re talking about doing 250 just off the coast and we were saying imagine 250, 350ft high and imagine all of that – how are the surfers going to manage... if it does their job fine, but if you have to switch them off when its too windy, what’s the point?” Tony, M, 28

“I do not like wind farms generally wind farms, for a start they don’t produce enough electricity for the detrimental effect there isn’t – I might sway towards them if it produced a lot more electricity than it does. I also think it’s detrimental to the locals.” Chloe, F, 38

d. Distrust in the current study itself and my impartiality

During the research process, a number of participants began to question my impartiality and became cautious in providing me with responses to questions. When I asked them about their opinions on the images, they were suspicious of my intentions – either seeing my questions as an opportunity for developers to find evidence to support their proposals or as an opportunity for evidence to be collected against the development. Interestingly the same questions often drew opposite responses. Two opposing examples are provided below during the section where participants are shown the images of the proposed development:

During the question where participants are presented a before and after image: “in some respect you’re forcing me to answer... I think that the comparison, you’re indicating I think that that is going to be detrimental – but some people like windmills. I think the comparison – forget that – and ask the question about it [without the picture]. You’re question suggests that that is a pretty scenic site and that [the images] says no it isn’t.”

the participant also refers to the line of questioning pursued as taking a ‘when did you stop beating your wife’ approach, suggesting that I am using loaded questions.

Again, during the section of the questionnaire where the participants are shown the images:

“well that doesn’t show the infrastructure – it can’t be after the development because the road network that’s required to take these monstrosities in are going to leave permanent scars so that’s a false representation.

I inform the participant that these are images provided by the developers

“Well that’s why it’s false. That’s a lie! Is that recording? Well that’s a lie! The impact visually in the distant landscape of turbines anything up to 300 meter high – it’s a false representation.” Tom, M, 55

Within each of these cases participants noted that they felt wind energy developments would detract from their experience as a visitor – however when this was discussed further it became clear that this response was more complicated than a reaction to the aesthetics of the developments, and emerged from an emotional response to something that they saw represented in the turbine. It was also interesting to observe that some participants provided a negative response when asked about turbines to avoid going ‘on record’ and to

provide information that could potentially be used to support a planning application for a development. Here the participant noted that they would exaggerate the negative impact on their behavior in order to avoid providing evidence that may support something that they objected to on the grounds of principle. Here a quantitative approach records these 'protest' responses alongside truly negative responses to the developments and is unable to discriminate.

e. Issues of nationality

An additional issue that emerged was a product of national identity in Wales and the perceptions of Wales as rural. As a country that has historically failed to benefit from industrial development, there is a healthy skepticism from the public towards proposed developments. A local historical issue that continued to emerge in discussions, or was suggested at through conversations was the flooding of the Tryweryn valley (this has been discussed previously on page 18). Some participants saw the proposed wind energy developments as an extension of this industrialisation of Wales and Welsh resources.

I taught 19 years and I used to take the children out a lot to see wind farms up against them, I know the area well and basically its another example of taking something out of Wales – you've taken lead from here, silver from here, trees are going from here – it's the same thing as the forestry planted trees 60 years ago and they were supposed to bring a lot of employment – very little employment, all the trees are taken to Wiltshire, so I think Wales can take advantage of them, but not through multinational companies.

I ask: What's your biggest worry then?

That they'll just inundate Mid Wales with these wind farms and it would be like an industrialisation. You've got to ask the question, how many wind farms are planned for the South East? There's very little wind farms in Sussex, they tend to be – same thing as nuclear power. Seth, M, 62

3. Reliability of data

The qualitative section allowed for greater discussion to be undertaken with participants on the reasoning behind their answers. Moving from part 2 to part 3

of the survey, where the discussion of wind energy moves from discussing wind turbines in the abstract to a specific and potentially real development in Mid Wales, some participants changed their responses and no longer considered the wind energy developments to be something that would detract from their experience.

One respondent called the wind turbines “dirty big white things”, intrusive and out of place, but on showing her the image she noted:

“I kind of expect that they will look huge and ugly, but from a distance they don’t have a massive impact. Looking at that on the horizon... No I don’t think it would [have an impact], I love this country, don’t like the idea of parts of it being altered and changed – but also I understand for the great good these things have to be done.” Kate, W, 42

Other participants that also said that the turbines would detract from their experience said:

“I don’t like the alteration to the view, but it wouldn’t effect my intention to visit mid wales.” John, M, 22

“it probably has no change on my behavior, but I think it’s awful.” Gavin, M, 61

“the first impression is it that they do detract [before we look at the picture] but we’ll get more of them, and we’ll see more of them, but personally I think I’ll start to ignore them, but that isn’t to say that I think they’re necessarily the way to go.” Adam, M, 62

“despite the turbines I’d still come – I don’t have to look that way!” Jane, F, 28

When interviewing other participants this disparity between what was expressed by participants and an accurate representation of their likely behavior following the wind energy development was less explicit. However further questions of reliability can be raised.

Some participants at Nant Yr Arian expressed a very clear opinion that should a wind energy development be built any where near to the visitor centre (even if there was only one turbine) they would not be interested in visiting. However,

these statements are problematic as there is already a wind energy development close to the visitor centre and can be seen when entering the forestry commission site and from the feeding ground of the Red Kites. When I asked the participants about this, they noted that they had not noticed the wind energy development or were not aware of it.

One participant was highly irate throughout the interview, and began shouting 'I wouldn't be interested at all' when we first began to discuss wind energy. For him wind energy was offensive and when visiting Mid Wales, he sought out what he referred to as secluded natural spots. Interestingly, this participant was also highly aware of climate science and was supportive of other renewable energy technologies, but had a suspicion on the true intention of wind farm developers. I asked him how he felt on seeing the wind turbines when he arrived at the visitor centre, and asked how he was able to deal with this confrontation, having expressed such strong feelings against the technology. He went silent and responded that he 'didn't know' and confessed that he hadn't noticed the wind turbines when he had been walking around the site. He then started to consider the impact that the wind turbines may have on his visiting behavior stating: "well it wouldn't affect my spending at all. I'd still come here for a cup of coffee. And we're brainwashed into thinking this is a fundamental need for the country. I'd still come for a coffee and come and see a red kite." So here despite initially recording a negative impact from the turbines, and despite the participant expressing during the study that the development would result in him visiting the area less often – during the interview stage the participant appears to contradict this.

Concluding remarks for this section

Within this first genre of enquiry I first wish to suggest that a number of limitations exist within a survey led approach. Not only are some of the ideas discussed by participants during this less structured interview section excluded from conventional survey work – but additionally, exploring these issues of

distrust has revealed new questions of the accuracy of the survey approach in determining the impact on visitor behavior.

Like previous studies have noted, the results confirm the importance of the landscape of Mid Wales in the visitor experience, and suggest that a minority of visitors consider the wind energy developments to detract from their experience as a visitor. However, for some visitors when the wind energy development that was discussed was given context and visitors were shown planned information on the development, they considered that the turbines would have a lesser impact on their visiting behavior due to the proximity of the proposed development. For others the very existence of the wind energy development was problematic, and their rejection of wind energy developments emerged as one of personal principle. It was found during discussions that although participants would comment on the visual features of the wind turbine ('they're big and ugly') on further analysis it appears that a number of interconnected feelings and responses to seeing the development influence their perceptions. Participants often expressed a clear distrust in the science behind the developments and noted that this lead to the formation of their opinions on the technology; whilst others expressed a distrust in the motives of the developers behind the project. These findings echo previous research on residents which too has rejected the often quoted NIMBY syndrome, and pointed toward the contribution of the campaign stance of a community group (Van der Horst, 2007), the beliefs held by the public regarding wind farm impacts (Wolsink, 1996), the communication and consultation methods employed during the planning process (Gross, 2007), and the nature of the planning system and suspicion of the developer's motives (Wolsink, 2000). Supporting Bell *et al.* (2005), I too wish to argue that a clear distinction is required between public opinions of wind energy and opinions of wind farms, however the current study demonstrates that it is difficult to make this distinction.

The use of images provided by the developer was a source of concern by some participants and it is worth noting that inconsistencies in presentation format (wireframe/photomontage) may impact results. It is also possible that due to the

static nature of the image, showing the blades in a static position may present a less visually appealing scene than an image in motion. Within future work it would be interesting to explore this, and potentially provide more reliable results if self rendered moving images are use, however this was not possibly within the capacities of the current work.

Participants also demonstrated a lack of trust in the current study and my own motives as a researcher, with some suspecting I supported the development and thus worked for the wind energy developers; or having greeted them with a Welsh accent, was from the local area and was protesting the developments. Despite being transparent on the aims of the current study, overcoming this distrust was difficult and it was clear that some participants met me with suspicion and caution, or if they had a stake in the debate surrounding the development, sought to influence the results to meet their agenda. Here I was argued with and accused of asking leading questions: 'that's like asking 'when did you stop beating your wife'?'.

In closing this chapter, I wish to suggest recommendations that emerge from this approach and a line of question to be explored in chapter 6 that seek to move beyond these limitations. It is clear that a methodology is required that is able to address the distrust expressed by participants in creating their perceptions of renewable energies – not just to find and record these moments of distrust, but also to attempt to engage with and attempt to work beyond them allowing a more accurate result to be obtained on the true impacts from these developments. The aesthetic qualities of these developments are also highly important, however it is clear for some participants that being face-to-face with the development stirred strong emotions, suggesting that rather than being two separate responses to wind energy (one of aesthetic/visual and one of emotion) that these two responses are directly linked – seeking to move beyond distrust and towards a consideration of aesthetics is thus the wrong line of questioning. This does however suggest a possibility for a potential within an encounter with wind energy (for example within a wind energy tourist attraction) that provokes and offers an opportunity for visitors to reconsider their perceptions towards

environmental issues. A number of questions thus emerge, that fed into the development of Genre 3:

- How can we analyse perceptions of wind turbine developments rather than of wind energy?
- How can we create a research approach that engages with distrust in the current study to produce more reliable results?
- How we produce a research approach that attempts to engage with participants to attempt to prevent reproducing feelings of distrust in research, science and technology?
- Is there a potential to explore the potential in coming face to face with these wind turbines, as visitors (re)consider their perceptions of wind energy? I.e. can wind energy tourism function as a strategy to address the growing threat of climate change?
- How can we analyse this potential and what would it look like?

The following chapter will now attempt to work with and address some of these questions through a discussion of the results obtained within Genre 3.

Chapter 5: Results - Becomings and Intensities

Introduction

This chapter will analyse data collected during interviews with visitors to Nant Yr Arian throughout June, July and August 2013. Throughout these three months, I walked the path marked out for visitors and engaged in conversation with walkers. The walker was then asked to take part in the study, and we moved to sit on a bench that overlooked a wind turbine to begin the loosely structured interview. This schedule has been presented on page 145. The conversation was allowed to move into unexpected areas, and to deviate from the schedule if prompted by the participant.

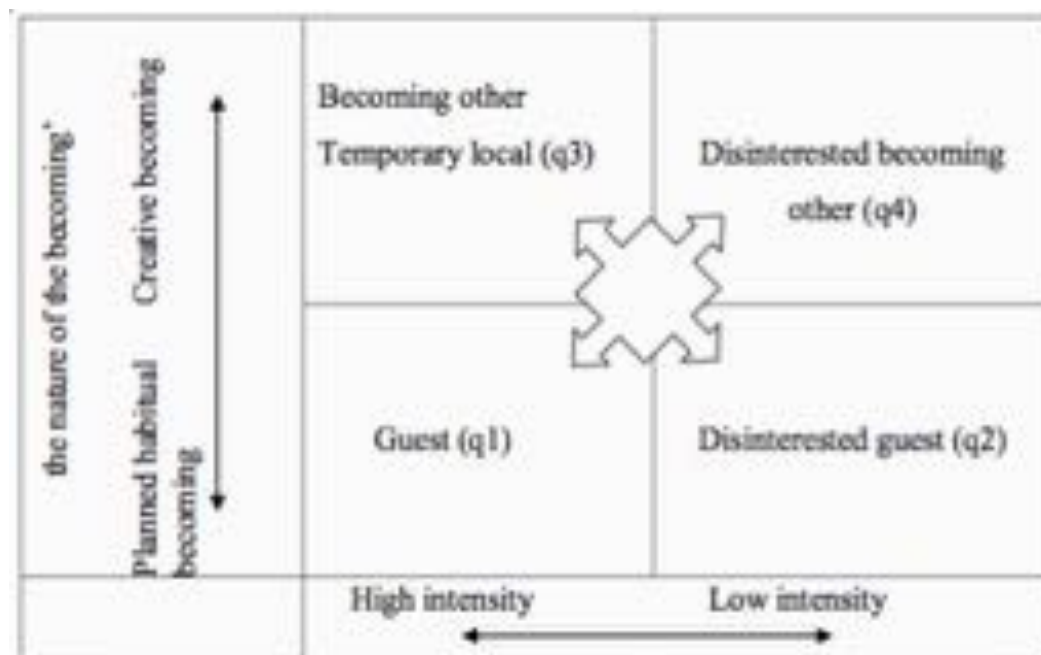
Interviews were then transcribed and sorted by using an interpretive coding strategy. Here I sought to document and categorise the breadth of the data collected, whilst retaining the voice of the participants. The 'cabinet of curiosities' created in this exercise was then scrutinised, and concepts revealed in the coding process were compared and contrasted. In order to develop meaning from these conversations, a process of representation of the data was undertaken that focuses on the 'becomings' that occur during the recorded interaction. This is identified as 'genre 3' on page 108, as the third point within the qualitative continuum to be explored. Using these conversations, this Genre explores the creative potential within the experience adapting the approach taken by Grit (2012). By doing this, I hope to explore the potential to reveal new sensations, ways of thinking and being that can emerge through sightseeing, in an effort to reveal opportunities that may lead to new ways of thinking about ecological issues beyond the current constraints in public discourse.

The analysis below charts the responses of participants onto the chart provided in Grit (2012) (Figure 6, page 94, and reproduced below for the reader). For each of the quadrants, examples are provided on how these sorts of becomings manifested within the interactions with visitors. The use of this framework

provides a tool from which opportunities for difference may be extracted. This analysis treats the comments of participants as a text to be explored, noting examples that may provide suggestions of orientations of bodies within the Nant-yr-Arian assemblage. The framework provides a means to not only document the more usual and expected becomings – but also the more extraordinary, and the potential this may exhibit. Indeed, following Deleuze, this analysis does not seek to find out what something ‘is’ or what it may ‘mean’, but rather attempts to explore what it can ‘do’ (see quote, page 83).

As a final point in this introduction it is worth noting that although the responses of participants below are charted onto the two-dimensional axis provided by Grit (2012) (Figure 6, page 92 and reproduced below), these positions are not definitive. Indeed, to consider these placements as static positions determined through analysis, suggests I have an agency I do not claim to possess. Instead, these positions need to be understood as ‘snapshots’ of a dynamic process and allocated within the current analysis to allow for the forms of movements and their affects to be discussed and observed. This idea is discussed in concluding this chapter on page 255.

Figure 6, Chart of potential becomings from Grit (2012)



This chapter will now chart some of the potential movements of bodies within the Nant-Yr-Arian assemblage that were documented during June, July and August 2013. For each of the quadrats in Figure 6, a number of ways in which this form of becoming was exemplified is shown with quotes and discussion.

Analysis

1. Becoming a tourist

Quadrant 1 identifies those becomings that can be likened to the 'ideal' tourist experience. These are defined as becomings where the encounters are more or less dictated by the space within which they occur, and although the tourist is satisfied, the opportunities for creativity (or *difference*) are limited. This can be likened to MacCannells conception of Tourists trapped within the 'Tourist Gaze' and the ego-mimetic critique of tourism of comes with this. This is the encounter that remains dominated by the visual. Despite these becomings withholding the potential for creativity, the intensity of the connections between bodies is high, and the experience promotes the formation of new assemblages (see page 84 for a discussion of 'intensity'). This 'tourist' becoming was exemplified in a number of ways in the data, both in responses to the environmental surroundings of the visit, in responses to the wind energy developments and in response to others that were visiting the site.

a. Becoming a retreator

These becomings suggest a feeling of escape, getting away from normal, industrious life and experiencing tranquility and solitude. Such experiences evoke those discussed by Urry (1990) (discussed on page 65). Indeed, these becomings are representative of the tourist marketing material of Mid Wales (see Figure 19 below for an example), where the 'natural' beauty is emphasised and a space is created where the individual body is able to enter into a more

basic and 'authentic' relationship with the surrounding landscape (and it's bodies).

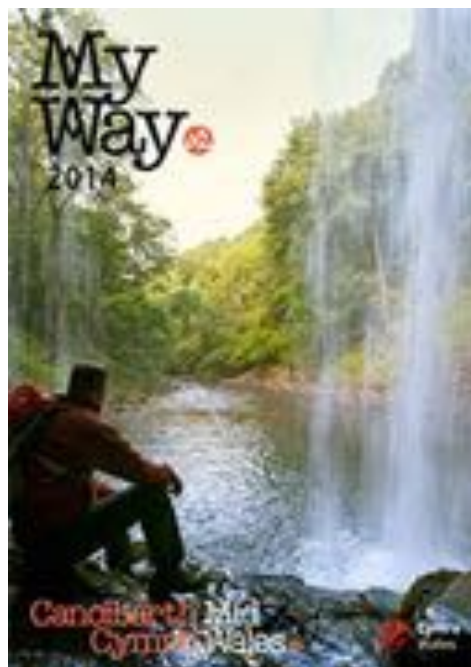
"Yes like society again. Yeah so we're dipping in and out, and we're such a technology fast paced society now that we like going back to the old times, a bit like when we grew up and you did jigsaws and you communicated, whereas now we're guilty of it too we rely so much on the internet even just for finding directions or deciding where to go when you don't know an area, and to go back to the basics and to bring these up where it's not money orientated. So that's what we love about erm this part of the country, it's just so unspoilt not that we're anti-social at all we love people but it's nice to dip-out. "

Kath, 41, F.

"I think the fact that you know you've got a main arterial route here, you can be from our home in as you say an hour and a half, but then within ten minutes you can be erm somewhere completely different i.e. you can be erm almost erm completely cut off from road noise ... many other people it's a nice day to day there's other people about. I've been here when there are very few and virtually had the place to yourself. So that's [pause] that's something which you enjoy now and again, not always but it's, it's nice to have that."

Tim, 45, M.

Figure 19, Example of Mid Wales marketing material from 2014.



It is worth noting the critique that has been made of this marketing discourse, arguing that it reproduces the subordination of Welsh identity to surrounding

nations (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001). This patriarchal conception of Welsh identity and culture was a point mentioned by a number of participants in the field, for example Simon, 72, noted: “It's [inaudible, wind, 20:57] as if, er, Wales is fifty to a hundred years behind where England is and believe you me, it's a damn good thing, you know?”

“I mean to come here its nice and peaceful so if it wasn't as it is now and more commercialised I think it would be not quite as nice. Yes there's lots of places like this in Wales, like Margam and all the rest of it, you can go walking in the hills and erm it's not spoilt. So it's nice just to come up here a few times for a walk with the dogs, there's a few people up here, it's nice. Yeah its nice, I would come again but erm you see if it was too commercialised with lots of noise and kids all over the place then it's more like you kind of want to get away from them.”

Pete, 61, M

This conception of retreat appeared closely linked to a perceived lack of commercialisation in the space that was retreated to. Through this retreat the rural countryside is reaffirmed as ‘other’ and meets prior expectations, providing a space within which an escape from the day-to-day is possible.

The site explored during the study this is particularly interesting when the history of the area is considered. Indeed much of the land explored by tourists and considered to be an escape from busy commercial life has been sculpted through industry and commercial development. The lake from which Red Kites are fed played a key role during the time when slate mining was still profitable, as the cold water from the lake was used to cool the heavy machinery used. Despite this, visitors view the site as an escape from their everyday lives in the city. The site features signposts throughout directing visitors to the most picturesque views, and around a path that carves its way through the landscape, around the hills hiding walkers from the road that leads visitors to the site.

b. Becoming an environmentalist

These becomings are progressive but again fall in line with the structure of stability and predictability. Here the environmental issues do not allude the

becoming, and reveal themselves in their entirety. The problem is clear and addressable and there is a clear way forward from the issues that are raised. In this satisfaction the intensity of the becoming remains high and is able to continue forming new assemblages.

“Well as I say unless everybody does it then I don’t know, as I was saying what the UK does is just a drop in the ocean from where I sit at the moment, we’re penalising ourselves in the sort of economic market by having all these sort of green taxes and this that and the other, and erm OK most of the EU is doing much the same but at the moment I think it’s only California in America that’s doing anything about it, and certainly Indian, China and most of the other sort of industrialised Eastern countries ain’t doing a thing. So I don’t know why are we penalising ourselves? We need to start making and growing our own things.” Kay, 22, M

Despite environmental issues emerging within this becoming, the structure of the interaction remains ‘tourist’ as the issue appears subordinated by the Gaze. That is not to suggest that such interactions are not valuable, but rather they fail to reach a potential that is explored in a latter part of the current chapter (p. 233), and environmental issues are considered in a ‘habitual’ way. This is seen, for example, through the reproduction of themes or arguments seen in newspapers on discussions around climate change.

Again these becomings are directed by the site through signposts and message boards. The site contains a wooden eco-friendly building that contains a café, toilets and a small shop. Here, visitors can pick up leaflets on how the café recycles its energy and how the local ecosystem is used to its full effect within the site to support the café and the facilities. The building has a grass roof that collects rainwater that is used to flush the toilets. Whilst sitting on the toilet, visitors can read information on how this happens via a sign on the back of the toilet doors. This idea of reusing and recycling can help shape perceptions of the wind turbines, which although further away still enter into the Nant-yr-Arian assemblage due to their sheer size. Signs on the path direct the visitor to look out towards the horizon and gaze at the scenery, as turbines spin in the distance, the energy of the wind spins around the blades and can be re-used – just like the water in the toilet.

c. Becoming a historian

These becomings appear as awareness and a consideration for history that allows tourists to both understand and appreciate the landscape upon which they place their gaze. Such becomings can be likened to those identified by Edwards & Llurde (1996), and Frantál and Kunc (2011); where technical objects have been presented as attractions through links to the industrial heritage of the region (discussed on page 38).

“... the part of the nature here I think is also the history.... You know, the old miner's path. And then it was, you know, I was saddened when they dug-up part of it to, er - I don't whether, why, but they widened and flattened part of it. But to me, you - you know, it was lovely walking along that part knowing that people had, er, walked along there, you know, to work and from work, you know.... but the nature is, you know, it's - it's obviously it's all affected by man, I mean nature here. I don't suppose there's anything here apart from grass and a few - some scrub - that, that's natural - naturally here. Everything else is influenced by man”
Simon, 72, M

“Well we had the coal and then the wool, or the coal and the wool so the mines and the mills. So yes you can't move far – and yet even in the beautiful areas of the Yorkshire Dales the lead mines/tin mines or whatever they've all impacted on the environment up there but in time it is – I mean on the other side of here you don't know up the Rhayader Valley where the lead mines and the gold mines and that you can still see the impact of the toxic elements on the vegetation there, it's not grown over and erm sort of become hidden and err it's still - the impact to man is still very visible, but here not so much. But this is a modern impact you know. There we go.”
Victoria, 61, F

However, it is interesting that through these becomings the façade of the ‘natural’ environment is explored by the participants. Here the ‘natural’ quality of the landscape is questioned and the role of ‘man’ [sic] in shaping the landscape that surrounds them is appreciated. The experience however remains enjoyable, and the tourist is able to continue on their walk along the path to continue appreciating the countryside that surrounds them. In a similar way above, the becoming-historian assemblage opened the possibility for the participant to draw connections between the historical mining past of the area

and the present day landscape in front of them. This becoming is still very much in line and structured by the space, the participant Gazing from a safe distance and although enjoyable there is little movement of bodies in unexpected directions.

“It’s not that I don’t want to look at it, but that I can accommodate, it’s just a modern windmill. And we didn’t have objections to windmills littering up the hillsides.”
Claire, 47, F

In contrast to this, the record above from Claire noted an instance where in becoming attached to their historical qualities, the bodies of the assemblage formed connections to familiar structures previously displaced by time and space. Despite this offering the potential for creativity (for example an imagined journey into the past), the accounts of participants reveal instances where a potentially confrontational experience nullifies the effect of this movement, and the defined role of the space is maintained as the tourists go on with their journey. They’re able to just turn their head and enjoy the view in another direction.

Nant-yr-Arian does not contain any specific items that may shape the gaze of the tourist to create this link to the past, but it contains plaques on which short stories are written. One plaque tells the story of Owain Glyndwr, the last native Welshman to possess the title Prince of Wales. Glyndwr held his court in the nearby town of Machynlleth, where he set out plans for an independent Wales. In the late 19th century, the 14th century prince was revived as interest in Welsh nationalism grew. From this, Glyndwr and his story became a myth associated with Welsh nationalism, representing the triumph and pride of Wales (he was never betrayed by his side despite the rewards, and never surrendered). His nearby castle was captured whilst Glyndwr was away fighting, his family imprisoned. These signposts point to an imagined Wales advertised to international markets. The USA Visit Wales site suggests that people visit as: “Wales is home to 641 castles, more than any other country in Europe. You’re encouraged to visit them: climb towers, walk ancient walls and explore

dungeons. This is the land of magic, myth and dragons.” Despite this interesting journey into the past, the becoming remains tamed by the tourist space as tourists gaze onto the images they have found within tourist brochures, now projected in front of them onto the landscape.

d. Becoming a critic

In ‘becoming a critic’, the landscape becomes something that can be judged, compared and graded based on desires and expectations and desires. Responses recorded for this becoming can be likened to that of an online review like one can read on one of the many user-generated review websites (e.g. Trip advisor). These online platforms are becoming key influencers on the way that tourists imagine destinations and make decisions on where they will visit and spend their money (e.g. Miguéns, Baggio, & Costa, 2008). Participants here noted their favorite and least favorite features of the landscape as they directed their Gaze, comparing the landscape to their previous experiences and what they have seen on television and during advertising. This too is a well-researched area of tourism study (e.g. Kim, et al., 2012; Chiang and Yeh, 2011; Kim et al., 2006).

The one criticism I've got since I've been here is that there are no stop-off points on the roads and to me it's ludicrous because you're going along and you see a fantastic shot - and you can't stop on the road. It only wants a little bit of a, a lay-by. You know? And somewhere that you get an unobstructed view. You know, there are little lay-bys but there's some bushes that obscure - but everywhere you - I've been in the world before, in - especially in Australia or America, you get view points and if- if it's on a steep slope, they put like a little gantry up and so you're - you know - and you can stay- take pictures and stop and have a look, you know? And there's nowhere here like that - to me, it spoils it.

Alice, 38, F

This is a clear example of a becoming where the landscape is positioned as something there for the visitor to enjoy, subordinated by the Gaze and desire of the tourist. Landscape becomes something that is there for the visitor to use, and the notion of it not accommodating the desires of the visitor is so out of place as to be amusing.

In a similar way in this example we also see the notion of landscape appearing as if objects that can be collected. They appear in the above comment as if objects that can be compared for their peculiarities and defects. The Gaze structures how and when these images can be contrasted – with features (or bodies) that do not meet a predefined standard being excluded from the scene. In the quote above, Alice makes reference to the ‘unobstructed view’ that she desires to not only gaze on – but to collect that gaze with her camera. Sometimes she sees opportunities that may offer such a view, but ‘bushes that obscure’ prevent her from getting that postcard shot. This is further discussed in the following example below:

e. Becoming a photographer

“[I photograph] unusual things. things we dont see often. on the walk, we were in the forest and we were on a train and there was - there must have been - a tree that had been uprooted and hanging from the roots had grown over a sort of grassy as if a witch had made a cavern there. all hanging green fronds so i took a few pictures of that. i like to take interesting things.... I dont just go for beauty but if i find it a bit quirky or interesting.”
Adam, 50, M

The becoming of the photographer can be considered to be the becoming of the tourist *par excellence*. Here the Gaze appears as embodied as the viewfinder of camera, framing the landscape, removing that which is not desirable and turning the environment into a series of snapshots that can be recalled at home. Yet as

Urry and Larsen (2011) state, many tourists appear disappointed as their photographs fail to live up to the richer memories that they have made (in part during the framing of these photographs themselves) (p. 155). For Urry and Larsen, the development of the Tourist Gaze is intrinsically linked with the development of photography, tracing the development of the Gaze as photography has moved from film, to digital into an online medium.

What kind of things would you want to take pictures of? What kind of things would aim for?

Just whatever catches your eye really. You know, it's just - I suppose, slight landmarks or just, like, say when coming through there, you can see quite a way down the valley so just the view really.

Scott, 28, M

Would you take pictures of wind turbines, do you think?

I went to take a picture of it and then I decided not to and I don't know why really.

Scott, 28, M

I'd probably take the - if I was near and I could see inside of it, I'd take a picture of the inside of it because the inside intrigues me more than the outside of it..”

Jess, 26, F

As photographer, tourists engaged creatively but predictably with the landscape, taking photographs of things that appear interesting and unusual. The becoming remains of a high intensity as through the camera the tourist is able to rediscover the environment, albeit within the predictable structure of a tourist experience. However, the potential for new opportunities are hinted at as identified by the participant that wishes to investigate inside the turbine (described above), as the image becomes a rhizomatic platform that allows new connections and creativity to emerge.

I suppose when you take a picture, you want to see the - the natural beauty ...and unfortunately, that's not natural.

Scott, 28, M

Because you also said you tried to mask the road as well, so you're looking for just the natural - just the sce- you know, scenery. Yeah.

Jess, 26, F

Additionally, the camera allows for parts of the landscape that do not fit into the image the visitor wishes to see to be removed. The visitor is able to materially create their memories as they see fit through the photography and the parts of the landscape that appear obtrusive or unfitting can be framed out.

[I take photographs of] either sort-of big landscapes or, or just the odd sort-of detail and then sort-of, nice - nice bit of pattern tree bark or, or that sort of thing. Just, you know, sort-of - just little sort-of little details that, that remind you of the bigger picture because - sometimes if you sort of take a big panorama, it just gets flat on the page and whereas if you sort-of pick out the, the little details then you think ah yes, I was looking at this when I was walking past that and - it sort-of brings it to life a bit.
Gavin, 49, M

In the example above, Jess notes how she 'masks' out the road from her photographs to just show the natural scenery in response to Scott's comment that they only wish to capture the 'natural beauty'. In Gavin's comment above, he acknowledges that the camera is unable to capture the full landscape. The image appears flat on the page – the real experience of being at the site is not able to be captured. Instead he captures small reminders – close up photographs of tree bark, small details to remind him of the larger picture.

Through this framing of the landscape, the potential for unexpected creativity is reduced despite new doors and options continue to open up as the camera encourages exploration. This was noted above on page 209, where the requirements for an unobstructed view – a pre-existing preference for certain images defines and limits the ways in which the camera is used and the photograph if produced. Garrod (1990) in reference to Urry (1990) refers to the Tourist Gaze expressed through photography as a 'self-reinforcing closed circle of representation'. Here images collected whilst on holiday and influenced by images observed prior to visiting, and themselves further reinforce the expectations of future visits. Modern mass media (and social media) has the effect of solidifying this conformity to expectation. In order to be deemed appropriate these images need to be representative of more than an image (the feeling of being there, the excitement, the relaxation), whilst at the same time idealised representations of the real Place allowing visitors to validate their visit. This can lead to some symbols taking on as much significance as the whole destination itself, functioning as a stand-in for the destination and everything that the destination may represent (romance in Paris is not guaranteed, but the Eiffel tower is [Urry, 2002 p. 12]).

As Klingmann, 2007, notes, these significant pieces of architecture are more than the symbolic representation of the destination – they are an ‘enduring public presence’ (p. 327) and thus become something through which the destination may be accessed. Within Copenhagen an example is provided earlier within the thesis where wind turbines have taken on this role, both through active inclusion through the destination image – but also in their enduring presence off the coast of Denmark. Here the turbines are more than visual ambassadors but fit within a destination eco-system, both in terms of its destination image and environmental networks.

And you said they'd have a bigger impact if it was a sunset. What did you mean by that?

I suppose they'd be silhouetted - and, and at the moment, you know, the - the lighting is such that they, you know, you - you've sort-of got to look for them but, I mean, if they were on that hillside - between you and probably the very thing you're trying to photograph. But they would have a beauty perhaps, in themselves? I mean they've - I mean in certain settings they might add something even.

Scott, 28, M

Yeah, you nearly said that before....

There's something sort of –

Jess, 26, F

Well I admit yeah, there's almost something other-worldly about them - yes there is, yeah.

Scott, 28, M

At Nant-Yr-Arian, the Gaze is not purposefully directed towards the turbines. Unlike the signs that direct the Gaze of visitors over picturesque unobstructed views, there are no signs that direct the visitor to consider a view encompassing wind turbines. They are not framed by the signposts and instead appear on the landscape in the distance, sometimes hidden by the trees. It is through this the role of the wind turbine as the x-thing is suggested in the comment above. Here, despite the effort of the photographer, the turbine refuses to be neutralised and subordinated into the Gaze of the visitor and forces itself to enter the image. It stands ‘between you and probably the very thing you’re trying to photograph’

and leads to new considerations. A gap appears in the closed circle of representation, as the Gaze questions itself. The visitor starts to reconsider the role of the turbine and the qualities they may add to the landscape and the image they will contribute to the circle of representation. There is something 'otherworldly' about them.

f. Becoming a traveller (but not a nomad)

I've done this journey to and from the University over the last twelve months quite a bit, you kind of when you're driving on your own you break your journey down into bits, so I go from here to what's the first point Newtown, then Welshpool, then Shrewsbury, so you break it down. So I know when I come in this way and I see them I know I am not that far away from where I need to be, so it's like a point of a compass.

Do they kind of catch your eye?

Yeah, I know where I am when I see them. I think 'oh I've not got far to go thank God!'

Mary, 19, F

In this becoming the turbine becomes a marker on the landscape and the visitor starts to consider their journey and place in space. The intensity of the becoming remains high as new assemblages are integrated and formed as places becoming detached from their geographic locations and the turbines become a compass pointing the direction of travel. In becoming place-markers the wind turbines offer a reassurance and help to consolidate the identity of traveller for the tourist. The wind turbine becomes a reassuring signpost that they are on their way to their destination.

I don't think oh what a stunning view, shame about the wind farm over there. It - I mean, we've - we've been sort-of picking them out when we've been driving around because I think at one point we could see three different wind farms where we were driving yesterday and we were just seeing where they were, you know, in the same way as that we were - we were finding on the map where the high points where.

Tim, 45, M

A similar becoming was identified for one other participant. Here again the turbines represent a place marker but rather than standing out from the surrounding landscape, through this becoming the turbines appear incorporated into the land that is explored. They become like a part of the map that is gazed at and used to navigate the tourist space, identifying the different points of interest.

Here, from the car window the surrounding landscape becomes a sight to be gazed upon. Everything is available to be consumed by the Gaze and despite catching the eye of the tourist the wind turbine becomes automatically accommodated by the holiday assemblage. In doing this, any potential within this encounter is nulled as the tourist Gaze domesticates the turbine body. Similar sights can also be accommodated; I have found myself often driving past the cofiwch dryweryn monument, twenty minutes South from Nant Yr Arian by car. The monument remembers the village of Capel Celyn, flooded to provide drinking water for the city of Liverpool in the 1960s. On my last drive the monument had been updated to also remember the tragedy at Aberfan where 116 children and 28 adults died after a spoil tip collapsed on the village. So easily the spectacle of the monument, written by hand in Welsh on a bright pink background, can become just another signpost on the way to Nant Yr Arian or Aberystwyth.



g. Becoming a pragmatist/becoming resolved

In this becoming a sense of contemplation occurs and pragmatically the costs and benefits of wind energy are weighed up. Although here the intensity of the becomings are high in their ability to form new connections and assemblages and to promote the formation of further assemblages, the creative potential is diminished in the resolution found in these becomings. The pragmatism that was demonstrated by participants emerged often as the reproduction of commonly appearing comments found within the news and in public discussions on the technology. This is best explored through examples:

g.1. a 'necessary evil'

This term was a commonly spoken phrase and one commonly felt and expressed by the participants of the study. Here despite the wind turbines being something that is undesirable they present themselves as necessary in face of impending global disaster. The lack of creativity in this becoming is demonstrated through this phrase, firstly in its resolution, it's satisfaction and understanding of the situation that leads to a position of resolve; a solution in the form of the wind turbine appears as necessary and fitting, despite it's 'evil' qualities. And secondly, in the powerlessness it suggests – the turbine presents itself as the only solution, despite being fully appropriate and 'evil' it is the only solution available to address the problem and thus it is necessary to be accepted – there is no point of challenge.

If it's the cost of saving the planet I don't mind. Sam, 24, M

The very idea of a 'necessary evil' is counter productive to developing a progressive approach to energy management. The idea overlooks assumptions made on the requirement for a certain level of energy production and also fails to challenge the suitability of the technology that can provide this energy in a 'clean' form. In doing so, the (currently) cheapest and most market ready

solution appears as the logical option despite its 'evil' draw backs. Obviously the wholesale rejection of the need for green technology would not be favorable either, but a trajectory that leads to considering alternative ideas and the benefits that these may offer could create new opportunities not previously accessible. However this is not necessarily the case, as discussed in g.2:

g.2. vs. the alternatives

The alternatives to wind energy are weighed up and a decision is made based on the suitability of the technology compared to other available options. In the example below, the participant 'weighed up' the impact compared to a coal mine, and wind energy offers a pragmatic solution in the face of growing energy demand.

In this example, despite the potential that may occur following a critical appraisal of the technology, the trajectory is limited by the 'pragmatic' nature in which the options are appraised.

"I mean even if you were coal mining, you know, you'd have an open cast mine, or you know a quarry so, you know, you're going to get it from somewhere, you've got to get the resources from somewhere and, and that to me is you know user-friendly really, I mean you're taking advantage of you know [pause] a natural way. Opening the ground for the coal mine, you know that's the –

Digging up the -

Yeah, yeah, well you're gunna destroy good countryside then really, so you just accept them really."

Rob, 66, M

False binaries are considered, and the space within which the trajectory begins constrained the possible directions and assemblages that could be formed.

Indeed here, Rob considered the possible alternatives to be coal mining or a quarry. Both of these suggestions have historic links to both Nant Yr Arian and Wales as a whole. It is not possible for Rob to know of all the alternatives that may be available – but instead of this assemblage opening up a trajectory of

greater research, and exploration into the issue – the potential is diminished as rob just ‘accept[s] them really’.

g.3. as a requirement of contemporary living

The requirements of ‘modern’ life mean that compromises have to be made. Here we extend the frame of space that dictates to the becoming beyond the tourist experience and consider it within wider socio-political terms. The space that dictates the becoming is thus not the literal paths or the signposts that lead the tourist to gaze at preselected objects, but rather the paths and signposts of social life, the desires that dominate late capitalist ideology.

“So I think if you lived here and you’re not used to seeing them you know like that unblotted by anything and they start sticking them up, then you might start having objections. But then when you look at the reality of life well you want your washing machine and your you know electricity, and you want an erm uninterrupted supply then it’s got to come from somewhere. So you weigh it up how you’re going to get it, if you want to join the modern living but still live here.”

Kay, 22, M

As in the examples above, a trajectory does not emerge to consider how some of the problems faced from modern life can be addressed in any other way beyond that Gazed upon by the visitor. Maybe the turbines provide an easy way for the guilt felt by the visitor to be absolved? They provide comfort that their way of life will not change as the solutions are presented right in front of them. Not only does this not begin a trajectory where other forms of clean energy are considered (as in the above example), but also the conditions of ‘modern life’ that require this compromise (of causing obstructions in the previously ‘unblotted’ landscape) are not questioned. Rather than global narratives about reducing carbon dioxide emissions, the impacts of the turbines are weighed against the desire to run a washing machine – even here the turbines come out on top.

Summary

Within this section the becomings that have been discussed demonstrate movements of assemblages that show energy and vitality, but are however still guided by the tourist space or are identified as those that would be expected from the tourist experience. It is noted that although this is enjoyable for the tourist, it is not necessarily productive, for example, in reproducing the conception of Wales as 'primitive Other'. This is particularly interesting in Wales, as it is home to a culture that has defined itself on this Otherness. As Williams, (1985) notes: 'a country called Wales exists only because the Welsh invented it. The Welsh exist only because they invented themselves' (p. 2). The English word Wales itself derives from the Anglo-Saxon word for 'foreign', leading Jenkins (1997) to argue that one of the defining features of the country is its sharing of a boundary 'with and against' the English.

The 'becoming a pragmatist/resolved' is a particularly suitable example of this form of becoming. Here a movement is identified where questions begin to be asked by participants, but this uncertainty is quickly tamed through resolution and rather than opening up a space for thought and reflection, the scene falls under the subordination of the Gaze. In this becoming we see a 'tourist becoming' in the *form* of the interaction. The visitor is not becoming a tourist in the sense that we may traditionally understand in that they are not partaking in a becoming associated with the tourism industry (taking photos, reading a guide book, etc). But nevertheless, their relationship with the space and the bodies that surround them is one that can be likened to that within the tourist experience – one of mastery, control and territorialisation.

The next section discusses similar becomings that were constructed or confined by the tourist space, but are however of a lower intensity. Due to this, in contrast to the becomings identified in this section that promote movement and the formation of new assemblages, the becoming instead results in tourists becoming disinterested or wanting to flee the scene entirely.

2. Becoming a disinterested tourist

As in the tourist becomings discussed above, these becomings are those that are structured, dictated and organised by the space within which they occur. Within the encounter bodies again perform as they should, gazing or being gazed at, however here these bodies are disinterested in the experience. Unlike in the previous accounts, these low intensity becomings create an undesirable experience for the bodies involved and the formation of assemblages is slowed or shut down. For visitors this is not a desirable experience. During these becomings the turbines do not offer reassurance, worrying thoughts emerge and visitors feel powerless as the noise of the blades interrupts their gaze. The landscape appears gloomy and doesn't offer the security that visitors seek, or real life refuses to disappear despite efforts to 'get away from it'.

a. Becoming gloomy in Wales

Although a rare becoming noted during the interactions, here the conditions within which the interview took place and weather conditions were seen to affect the responses from participants. Participants wanted to escape from the weather and get inside to somewhere warm and comforting – to a comfort that was not available to them in the outdoors. The discussions were truncated and rushed and the weather literally interfered with the recording equipment distorting and cutting up the responses of participants as we tried to engage in conversation.

Just like the weather that surrounded us, the turbines became objects representing this gloom for one participant (quoted below), drawing attention to our bleak surroundings and stirring up stereotypical perceptions of rainy Wales.

The lake?

A bit gloomy in the distance, isn't it? [Laughs] but that - that's Wales though, isn't it?

Gavin, 49, M

During the weeks spent conducting research in Nant-Yr-Arian, it was rare that research had to be suspended due to the weather, however on a number of occasions the rain and wind made it impossible to speak to people and record the interviews. On some occasions people wanted to end the interview early as it began to rain and we were not able to find shelter.

On a clear day, the view from the site extended far into the distance, with the lake and trees in the foreground and the wind turbines in the background on the hill. On a number of occasions, on days that could be described as gloomy, the mist covered the entire site and the turbines were hidden. The landscape takes on a different character in these circumstances, it becomes more mysterious, otherworldly. At times the mist can become so thick that you are unable to see further than an outstretched hand. Unfortunately on these occasions, I often found myself to be the only person standing on the hill at the site.

b. Becoming distracted from the view

Despite the structuring of the space to display the 'natural' surroundings in a way that is accessible to the tourist, something appears to get in the way. In this becoming the wind turbine interrupts the Gaze of the visitor, it catches their eye and refuses to let go – sometimes it almost Gazes back.

I don't know what it is really. It's - yeah. Just that it seems to be a bit of a - I don't know. I just doesn't look like it's in the right place. I mean, I know that you can't really hide them away. I think it's just the - yeah, it's just sort-of - it attracts your eye, doesn't it? So it - you know, where everything else is so beautiful and, sort of, created and you've got your sort of man-made - sort-of thing in the middle of it.

What do you mean by created?

Well you know, sort of - I'd say created by God. Erm, beautiful sort of - as it's meant to be. And then you've got a sort of, um - I know that you've got man-made bits all around everywhere but - I, I don't know. It's so obvious - it's so noticeable that you can't help but be attracted to look at it, I think. Yeah.
Claire, 47, F

Here the presence of the turbine creates a sense of unease for the tourist. Despite the tourists attempt to Gaze over the landscape that they identify as being 'created' the turbine enters the frame and refuses to be hidden. This becoming is not considered creative as it does not move beyond the structure defined by the tourist space (the tourist is still a tourist Gazing over the landscape in a predictable way), however here the landscape that is Gazed upon doesn't open itself up to be viewed, something gets in the way and refuses to stop attracting the eye. In the example provided, the beautiful landscape that is perceived to be a perfect creation by God is disturbed by this Thing.

Yeah I don't, I don't mind them, I just you know I, I you know I can't see [pause] that they're a problem really, I mean I do like, I do like them and I think they're just sort of err helping the environment by not using, you know, any other -

Scott, 28, M

But even when you look at the far end of this valley going forward, you you've still got those and they draw the eye no matter, no matter erm where you look those particular things draw the eye. That's - that's a - it's a shame really. I know it has to be done, but it just sort-of spoils the landscape a bit.

Jess, 26, F

In the further examples, the turbine enters the assemblage and it has the potential to 'spoil' the tourist experience. This occurs despite the potential offered from the technology through carbon mitigation, as practical applications appear secondary to Tourist desire.

In the example from Scott and Jess, the presence of the turbines within the assemblage draws the eye to the extent that 'no matter where you look' they occupy the Gaze. Here, the presence of the turbine within the landscape assemblage overrides any other bodies within the assemblage, and the happy visitor assemblage begins to fall apart. The deconstruction of the visitor assemblage means that not only does enjoyment suffer, but also the potential for further exploration is limited as the visitor leaves the site and may not consider returning as it has been 'spoiled'. Jess expresses her anger that resulted from the

construction of the turbines – and she uses the often recurring expression of them being like a ‘blot on the landscape’. I have found this terminology interesting, bringing to mind the idea of the stain described by Lacan XI. Here the stain is a reminder of that which eludes understanding within the current frame of reference and emerges as an uncomfortable, alarming, irregular ‘stain’ on an otherwise complete image.

The presence of the turbines prevents Jess from ‘getting away’ from the cities on her holiday as the reminder of home (the turbine/blot) interrupts the holiday assemblage, breaking it apart. The turbine is unable to be accommodated into the holiday assemblage, staining the otherwise ‘beautiful views’, and rendering them undesirable to the eye.

You don't want to be in a way but they kind of, like I say, catch your eye.
Scott, 28, M

Per- personally, ten years ago when they first started being installed. I - I found that there was - they used to anger me a little and, and it, it did go against me.
Jess, 26, F

Why did they anger you initially?

Because it - you were - you were spoiling nature ...beautiful views and you travel somewhere that's more remote, get away from cities and then suddenly there's a blot on the landscape -
Jess, 26, F

d. Becoming afraid of the noise

Noise was also noted to be a big part of the way turbines were perceived, but also in what the turbines can do and how they can affect visitors. As Jess, 26, F noted: ‘I mean they’re never going to fit in they’re not natural but you know they’re not silent, you wouldn’t notice they’re there, they’re not – they just jump on you.’ Here the sound of the turbine is noted as its more distinguishable and intruding feature – the noise it can potentially make – and its potential to ‘jump on you’ with this sound.

The possibility within sensory approaches beyond the visual has been considered by some working on more-than-representational approaches to understanding landscape. It is argued that through a multisensory approach to understanding landscape (and in this case the destination of Nant Yr Arian), we are able to begin to understand not only how we think of landscape, but also how it influences how we think. Crouch and Desforges (2003) considers the potential within a multisensory approach to research to explore where tourists are able to 'work' the constraining frameworks within which they find themselves – re-configuring them to meet their desires. This finding supports the point made on page 90, here despite moving beyond the visual to the ear – the Gaze is still present – disembodied from the eye to the ear. The ear still Gazes out and searches for those features to be consumed, and rejects those that do not meet the predefined limitations that result from restrictions of the Gaze. Thus not only do we fail to go beyond the Gaze here – but the experience fails to move beyond one defined by the tourist space within which it occurs.

... but I just think they're a blot on the visual environment, they're a negative introduction so that's what I see about it. And apart from the impact on the wildlife, the birds particularly I guess they don't – well you can see the track that goes across, and obviously there's an industrial development there that will put them up and maintain them, but err to be fair you can't hear them from here but if you go over there I'm sure you'll hear them whining.
Adam, 50, M

Where the interviews were conducted, overlooking the turbines at a distance, it was not possible to hear them but yet visitors imagined the impact the noise may have on their experience.

In the example here from Adam, he describes the turbines as 'whining'. Here the turbines appear almost anthropomorphised, given agency over the visitor, and seen as straining bodies on the landscape. The idea of the turbines 'whining' is interesting, suggesting a high and unpleasant sound, associated with feelings of pain or self-pity. It reinforces the idea that these objects are alien to their

surroundings – its own movement beyond outside of its own control and in opposition to its desire. Here it is not even necessary to hear the whining of the turbines, but the expectation of the sound is enough to create a disturbance.

e. Becoming Gazed at

With a lack for better vocabulary, this becoming is defined in terms borrowed from Lacanian Psychoanalysis. Indeed, the Gaze here is not unlike the Gaze of the Tourist, stratifying and segmenting the subject of its Gaze – however here the Gaze is directed from the exterior inwards, highlighting vulnerabilities and disrupting the security offered within the tourist experience within the structural terms of this experience.

It just interrupts the view, I think.

So it kind of like stands out?

Yeah, it's kind-of like you keep you - you know, it's disrupts your - enjoyment, I think, of the countryside.

Tim, 45, M

In Seminar XI, Lacan uses an autobiographical account to explain what he means when referring to the Gaze. He explains to his seminar audience that during his travels in Brittany in France, he spent time with some poor local fishermen. During a beautiful day, one of the fishermen, pointed to a shiny can of tuna that floated in the water nearby. The can reflected the sunlight that shone onto it and the man turned to a young Lacan and said, “you see that can? Do you see it? Well it doesn’t see you!” (Lacan, 1978, p. 95). Unlike the other fishermen who laughed at the comment, Lacan did not find this odd ‘joke’ amusing. Indeed, it is clear the can is not seeing in any sense as it does not have eyes - but Lacan suggests that the can was still ‘gazing’ at him - bringing to his attention that despite feeling like he belonged, he was nevertheless out of place here as a wealthy young man. This event - the standing-out of the can of tuna (and the joke) - disrupted the ideal picture established in the young Lacan. The gaze of the can was directed at him – and only him – as he stood out from the rest of the scene, despite his own feeling that he belonged.

In the example above, Tim uses the word enjoyment. This is what Lacan is considering when he speaks of Gaze in this way, via the word '*jouissance*'. The Gaze interrupts the enjoyment of the subject, which for Lacan is a productive development. I have already discussed why this approach is not deemed productive within the current project (page 79). In contrast to Lacan, the current project considers desire/enjoyment to be productive as it leads to further exploration and creativity – rather than disinterest or discomfort as we see here.

Well - I wouldn't call them beautiful, I wouldn't call them ugly ...they're just - they're just to me, a blot on the landscape in my opinion
Victoria, 61, F

It is true that this discomfort could itself of an intensity to lead to new creative becomings – but in this example, the jump isn't made and the disruption remains framed within the structure of the tourist space. Once again we should a return to the idea of the turbines as blots on the landscape – a term often repeated, and represented within the press to describe the turbines, and again indicating the dominance of the Gaze in determining that which it deems interesting and worthy of its attention. These structures that could otherwise function as a key to unlock creativity instead become reduced to 'blots' on a previously perfect image, and opportunities for creativity are negated.

f. Becoming an annoyed tourist

Here this tourist becoming results in annoyance and a desire to leave the scene. The wind turbines enter the assemblage and disrupt the possibilities of creating new connections between bodies as tourists become annoyed and express a desire to either look elsewhere or leave the space. Often participants in the work expressed some aggression or anger – in this anger the possibility for creative becomings is minimal, as the anger distorts and removes the potential for the tourists to start to rethink their ideas as new assemblages are formed. Instead

the anger just forces them to look away and enter a space that is more accommodating.

Tony, 61, M: As soon as we sat down -

Sarah, 63, F: Those windmills.

Tony: ... as soon as we sat down the comment was, excuse this 'Why the hell do they allow them to build those there, and there's more just over there' to us it's an eyesore, and I can't understand them.

Sarah: And if you need the research they don't really do a lot of good do they?

Tony: I'm not really positive, I'm not very positive. I just find them very ugly.

But I do, I do find them ugly. I don't think they've got any artistic merit or anything else in them at all. I mean some old buildings - even falling down buildings - I can see some artistic merit in. You know, on visiting the ruins you find around. I can't see anything at all in these.

Well I wouldn't look directly at them. I would rather look over there! It's as simple as that. We tend to walk away from them. Not facing them but, erm - and to a certain extent, we don't go where they are. If you know they're all up there, you don't go there.

Natasha, 53, F

Just like in the example described above on the 'blots' on the landscape, here the turbines result in an affective response in the visitors that is incompatible with their desire. The turbines appear in opposition to the dominating power of their Gaze, refusing to be subordinated into their preexisting narrative of the welsh countryside. Indeed, in the example above, Tony discusses how 'even falling down buildings' are able to be accommodated into this narrative, but the wind turbines continue to stand out, they are an 'eyesore'.

As a result of this, Natasha notes that she tends 'to walk away from them' leaving the space and diminishing their potential to function as the X-thing. She notes that due to the turbines, she will not go where they are and would look in an opposite direction (a classically picturesque landscape with rolling hills). This opposite direction is mapped out for tourists on a signpost, highlighting the areas of interest as they direct their Gaze.

Summary

The becomings identified in this section emerge as a product of the tourist space (as a product of the facilities established for tourists to gaze from or at, or to help facilitate other aspects of the tourist space) but fail to meet the requirements of tourist desire. Here instead of provoking creativity, movement and new connections between bodies, they become repelled (they flee the scene) and the opportunity for creating new assemblages is reduced. Here the presence of the turbines not only provoked feelings that were not enjoyable, they prompted a response from the participants that often ended up with them wanting to stop the discussion, or walk away. The turbines were uninspiring but also distracted from the rest of the landscape that surrounded them. Within the examples above this emerges as the often-quoted reference to the turbines as a 'blot' on the landscape. This idea exemplifies the form of this becoming, where the turbine body appears as a block to the Gazing tourist. I have previously likened the idea of the Turbine as 'blot' to the skull that appears to flee the scene on Holbein's Ambassadors (page 71) and it is interesting to see this idea being demonstrated in the field. Here I also make reference to the concept of Gaze within Lacanian Psychoanalysis. Here I borrow this idea to help illustrate the direction of Gaze that I intended to portray, and it is interesting to see participants note that the turbines as blot restrict their 'enjoyment' of landscape – something that can be likened to the concept of the *objet petit an* in Lacanian Psychoanalysis. This interruption not only occurs within the visual domain, but the fear of the potential sound of the turbine body disrupts the tourists desire for 'natural' silence. In imagining this sound, the turbine took on an almost supernatural quality, 'whining' in the distance or jumping onto the unsuspecting Gazing tourist.

In this later example some of the more creative possibilities that are explored in more detail in the next section begin to emerge. Within the next section, an opposing and more productive result is discussed – where the appearance of the turbine results in a 'becoming other', and not only do the turbines offer inspiration but they provoke a chain of becoming to begin that leads into

unexpected territory. Indeed, what makes these becomings different is not the enjoyment that arise from them in the tourist bodies, but rather what they do to the bodies themselves – how they realign what these bodies are and do as tourists start to ‘become’ like children gazing over the landscape, or wind turbines create mystery and intrigue that begins a journey for meaning.

3. Becoming nomadic (Other)

Within this third quadrant, I identify becomings that are deemed creative and open up a space for new formations of assemblages that go beyond those dictated by the tourist space. These creative becomings emerge as Affect and Percepts in response to the X-thing; in this case the wind turbine. As Affect disrupts the opinionated and everyday links between experiences, the ordered flow of experience emerges as singularities and the predetermined limits and locations of affect are disrupted. The potential for bodies to no longer be tourists, but become nomadic is explored – as flow between bodies is high and of an extensive speed, moving freely and in direct response to the affects and percepts it experiences.

For Deleuze, this quadrant contains the becomings that he would consider 'ethical'. On page 80, I provide an explanation of these ethical becomings by contrasting them to the confrontation with lack in psychoanalysis. Just like first quadrant, the process seeks to offer opportunities for new ways of thinking and being in the world to emerge, but avoids dictating the terms within which they may appear. It is important to note, that the importance of these becomings exist not in what they 'are', but rather in what they 'do'. Indeed, this is what the 'nomadic' concept refers to – the potential for the rejection of fixed singularities and an embracing of difference – the potential to become Other.

a. Becoming a teletubbie

In this becoming, the finding of the wind turbine begins a trajectory that rearranges the composition of several assemblages and leads to new and unexpected sensations. Indeed, here we see evidence of this unexpected connection as a sense of playfulness emerges as the visitors become like children's TV characters playing on the landscape.

So, how do you think the turbines effect where you look? [Dog whines].

Jess, 26, F: I notice them but in a positive way.

Scott, 28, M: What do they make you think?

Jess: teletubbies [Laugh].

That's true though. That is true there was a turbine in the teletubbies!

Jess: I need to grow up! [Laugh]

I am not aiming to discover some form of meaning behind this 'becoming' and move away from positing this becoming as functioning in place of desire. Instead we follow Deleuze and see desire best expressed as creativity. This creative movement may lead nowhere as the composition of bodies returns to a more expected form, but it is this initial move from the virtual to the actual that we wish to chart – the opening up of spaces of creativity and the noting of their potentials. Such experiences were met with enjoyment, and conversation flowed freely as the participants imagined themselves as the children's characters and began linking this experience with childhood memories.

Scott: Some people would put them in as industrial but I just wouldn't. , I think you know its harnessing something that's natural. The only way if people objected is to make them camouflaged so they would blend into the hills, but then -

Jess: Yeah, like pretty colours

Scott: Yeah, she, always thinks they should be like pastels, lots of you know - .

Jess: No, no there's got to be some artist out there who probably likes - .

Scot: Teletubbie land.

Jess: [Laugh] Yeh! that's what it is!

Here we see some of the limitations within the tourism space stretched and experimented with, as it becomes a site of play. Urry has referred to places of play within his work on Tourism Mobilities – here focusing on the role of movement (or intensity) in shaping and reshaping place. In this sense, play does not only occur within Place, but Place itself is in play (places of play, places in play). This idea of play fits well with the concept discussed throughout this chapter – moving beyond the idea of play as enjoyment towards an idea of play as experimentation and exploration. Play can be likened to a child rummaging through a cabinet of curiosities, experimenting with the items that they find

inside, putting these items to use in ways that others may find strange and unexpected. This concept of play also extends to the tourist space itself, the landscape and the turbines, themselves 'playing'. As people enter and leave the scene, as weather changes, as the public and political discourse around these 'places of movement' rearrange, distort and reconfigure their position in relation to others, forming new assemblages with new possibilities.

b. Becoming a child

The wind turbine here begins a trajectory that displaces time and space as the visitor begins to image themselves as children. In this first example, the appearance of the turbines begins a process whereby the participant starts to consider how landscape has changed over time, prompting them to consider their relationship with their grandparents. We were discussing this memory whilst climbing up a hill, both slightly struggling as we walked up a steep section. We were facing down at the ground as we pushed ourselves up the hill, the turbines in the distance catching our eye as we spoke. For Rob, the appearance of the turbines reminded him of the passage of time – he describes how he flashed back. As the turbines turn in the distance on the hillside, and catch his eye temporarily distracting him, he imagines his grandfather calling to him, telling him to 'get a move on'.

The second sees an imaginary scenario where the turbines become like a child's toy. This example is particularly interesting as prior to this becoming the conversation was difficult with Tim. He was initially quite closed to questioning, finding it difficult to elaborate on some of his thoughts. He did not articulate emotional responses and provided short straightforward responses, such as when asked how he felt about the wind turbines, he responded by saying bluntly that he didn't like them with little elaboration. I then asked what he thought of when he saw them and his response is shown below.

What do you think when you see the windmills?

well, how times have changed. I'm from Yorkshire originally and I used to go walking a lot with my granddad and grandma and windmills just weren't seen in the countryside in those days and they're propping up everywhere. We go to Skegness which is on the East coast and you've got windfarms out to sea. It's the sign of the times it needs to happen but it is a bit of an eyesore and its modern technology taking over things that like this – has probably been here for hundreds of years where people would just make their way around.

When you see them do you think it has an impact on your walk?

I think its to do with the childhood memories with me and the whole innocence factor and walking around – its just a bit of a – all the time I'm looking down here but in the corner of my eye I'm seeing them twirling around so you're wanting to look over. Earlier on I saw myself flashing back and saw my granddad in front and egging me on – 'cmon get a move on' sort of thing and its nice to think that I can still do that – I've still got part of my childhood deep down and reflecting on what we did as youngsters.
Rob, 66, M

On 'becoming a child' Tim began to open up, and the objects that in previous discussions that were disrupting his enjoyment began to be seen in a different way. Prior to this Tim objected to the turbines and did not provide an explanation on why he felt this way – but following the trajectory noted in the example below, Tim began to play with some of the ideas and conversation came easier between us. The turbines took on a different character as they were thought of as toys on the landscape, and became objects with which a child could play with. Maybe Tim imagined himself as this child, picking up the turbine from his cabinet of curiosities and exploring the possibilities with it – imagining the different ways it can be used and played with. Place itself begins to 'play' as the distances between us and the turbines converge, and they feel close enough to touch or to blow on like dandelions.

What do you think when you see them?

M: Well toys on the hillside I would say! [laughs]

What do you mean by that, toys in the hillside?

M: Well, if a child came up here he'd look over there and think yeah that's good, you could blow those.

Tim, 45, M

On first appearance, one could question how such a becoming could be useful as part of a strategy to mitigate for climate change, or to encourage greater awareness of issues surrounding global warming. Indeed, it is very possible that it is not – but the appearance of these more creative trajectories suggests a potential within the experience that could possibly be utilised within the right circumstances to inspire a productive creativity on this specific issue.

c. Becoming mystified/confused

The turbine as X-thing creates a becoming that is mysterious and unresolved. This emerges as participants describe moments of experiencing ‘other-ness’ or as being mesmerised, captured by the movement of the blades. The turbines on the landscape are described as if they appear to ‘dance’, taking on an almost human like quality and a sense of autonomy. This can be the case sometimes when gazing out at the turbines – the way the light catches the blades sometimes can turn the continuous cycle of turning into an almost hypnotic sway.

I mean, I, I, I quite like them, I think you could even, could even say they're pretty the way they, they turn and then it's kind like kind of a musical type feel through it I think, you know like almost like a dance or something if I was being perfectly honest.
Victoria, 61, F.

They - they don't sort of leap out at me or anything - about the sky-line but they're not sort-of egregious, sort of, we - we are industrial ...I mean, they - they clearly are industrial but there's - there's an "otherness" about them.

There is an "otherness" about them? But not a kind-of industrial "otherness"?

No, it - it's not the equivalent of a load of cooling towers or - or chimneys. You, you feel that - I don't know. There's sort-of - or there's something mesmerising because you just watch them moving.
Adam, 50, M

The example noted above in discussion with Adam, was a response that appeared a number of times during conversations with participants. They noted a sense of ‘otherness’ about the turbines – not industrial objects, but not natural.

In part this may be due to the movement that they make and the links of the object to the natural world – both in terms of their location, and the need for them to be situated in an area of high wind. Often when watching the turbines on the hill we too were subject to the power of the wind, sometimes strong enough to push us off our feet. The turbines however remained unmoved however unbearable for us, all but slightly swaying in the distance.

Lydia, 21, F: It seems in the evening because the sun is obviously right going over where we are in the evening, so it's shining on them -
Bella, 20, F: It's reflecting it onto -
Lydia: ...so they, in the evening they look -
Bella: They definitely march across the mountain in the evening.

In the above example, some visitors discuss their holidaying experiences and the wind turbines that were located close to their holiday cottage. Throughout their visit the turbines had become a point of discussion for the group. When looking out from their holiday home, they discussed alternative colours that the turbines could be painted in. They also considered the turbines relation to other technology often found in rural areas of Wales, in particular quarries. For them, coming from a former industrial area, wind energy provides a less intrusive solution to securing a resource for energy production. The creative potential however begins to emerge as the visitors explore the turbines from their holiday cottage and see that 'they definitely move'.

What do you like about them?

Sophie, 13, F: They're big. They - they cool you down when, you know, you're close to them. [Laughter].

Ruby, 59: Have you ever stood close to one?

Sophie: No.

Ruby: Would you like to?

There's a place in Scotland and you can go up inside a turbine. It's like a tourist attraction.

Sophie: Dad, can we go to Scotland?

Here the turbines movement is not referring to the turning of the blades that we would associate, but rather an imagined forward march over the landscape. The group notes that the turbines have been a constant source of discussion during the visit, appearing as something unusual and opening up the potential for a creative trajectory as this unusual object avoids explanation. The playful notion of the turbines 'marching' across the mountain is explored by the group, and each day they discuss how the turbines appear closer or further away. It is in this exploration that the turbines emerge as Otherness, appearing different from the static and industrial quarry and as something unusual, provocative and interesting for the group (especially for one of the children). Maybe the interaction could lead to the group visiting Scotland on their next holiday to further explore some of the ideas that this visit has provoked.

Summary

Through the becomings identified within this section I have sought to illustrate the potential for 'becoming other' within the tourist space. These becomings create an opportunity for *difference* that goes beyond that considered expected within the tourist space and identify a potential line of flight that may result in unexpected opportunities. These are of particular interest in the current study as they may offer an opportunity for ways of thinking about ecology and environment outside of a dominant ideology incapable of addressing the current problems faced by contemporary ecology.

I previously used an example from Grit to explain these sorts of becomings (page 94). Here Grit explains the appearance of the lion as X-thing as opening up new possibilities within the hospitality space. The bodies within the space (Grit, his daughter, the lion, the hotel, the window, the people in town) become re-organised and through the X-thing new relationships are possible between these bodies. In one of these reorganisations he finds himself and his daughter like hunters, searching the landscape for the lion. Although not essential within the becomings, these experiences can be likened to that of play (and it is interesting to note some of the more child-like becomings that emerge in the present study),

allowing visitors to try on different identities and explore new imagination-scapes. Grit has likened this idea of experimentation to a 'cultural laboratory' (2012).

Within the examples above, similar becomings appear as visitors become transported back to their childhood or the landscape becomes a canvas on which they project their imagined images. Indeed, it is difficult to directly link these becomings to an increase in ecological 'awareness', but to do so would potential negate the productive potential of the experience (limiting the ways within which this 'awareness' can occur'). In being undefined and unrestricting in prescribing validity, it offers the potential to create new ecologies that are as of yet unimagined. In addition to this value is placed on the act of becoming other itself – as the act of thinking differently (through deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation) is a form of critique or emancipatory performance itself against controlling or dominating discourses.

In these examples the forms of becoming-other appear as enjoyable and encourage productive-desire, but in the next section I will discuss a similar form of becoming-other with less enjoyable consequences. Here, although the deterritorialisation of the space opens up a line of flight, this new becoming cannot be reterritorialised and the experience falls apart – resulting in the expulsion of the tourist.

4. Becoming disinterested Other

This quadrant identifies those becomings where the assemblage enters a line of flight that is both unexpected and potentially revolutionary. Within this quadrant the potential emerges as the supporting systems of the tourist experience are deconstructed and no longer capable of supporting the becomings within the tourist space – however this experience is no longer pleasant, and instead of fostering new ideas and becomings to emerge, the experience results in the former composition (that of the tourist/walker in the countryside) of bodies being terminated.

These becomings are identified by Grit (2014) as those where despite suggesting a potential within the encounter the prevailing institutions/discourses are unable to accommodate for the unexpected movement and thus result in disintegration of the assemblage (we see this when he is kicked out of the museum, discussed on page 177). The process of productive-becoming can thus be understood simply as the need to balance the need for creativity with a pragmatic grounding from a consideration of context and application.

Indeed this is noted by Deleuze and Guattari, who refer to the space that emerges from this failure of deterritorialisation. Clearly referring to the idea of the black hole from within the scientific discourse (a star that has collapsed onto itself and light cannot escape), it is relocated and takes on new form in *A Thousand Plateaus*. Here the black hole is the point at which deterritorialisation passes a point of no return, as intensity no longer becomes bearable and a break is made with the signifying system. Both Deleuze and Guattari in drawing on psychoanalysis consider this the domain of madness, the entire rejection of all social structures and of subjectivity. Indeed, they call us not to turn our backs on boundaries, but to dismantle them with systemic caution.

Within the current study, the black hole is considered the place where intensity or deterritorialisation can no longer be accommodated by the tourism space. The movement beyond the boundaries within the space or within the predefined

desires of the tourist reaches a point where instead of promoting further movement and creativity, the trajectory has nowhere left to travel. These moments are creative, but instead of continuing to produce additional formations of bodies, the tourists find themselves wanting to leave due to the intensity of this creativity or the nature within which this creativity has emerged.

a. Becoming distrusting and cynical

Here the appearance and interaction with the turbine assemblage as X-thing begins a becoming that promotes distrust and feelings of cynicism. The distrust emerges as affect, not directed towards the turbine body but as affect itself. The visitor assemblage breaks down and now becomes the distrusting of science assemblage or the cynical member of the public assemblage – no longer is the landscape opening itself up to be gazed upon, now it only provokes questions and uneasy feelings, without providing answers.

Alex, 33, M: I also find it difficult to get - to come to a conclusion about the efficiency of wind-generated electricity, because we read so many conflicting reports. You never know how objective the research behind the particular report is, like I'm old enough to remember that for years the petrol companies employed scientists to prove that lead in petrol didn't do any harm to anyone.

Andy, 29, M: Tobacco companies likewise.

Alex: The research that said it did was discredited for almost a generation.

[...]

Alex: [Laughs] I just see it's politicians conning us. I won't be surprised if there's a back-hander for the turbine companies, and why should we be paying a subsidy for them? That really gripes.

In the example above with Alex and Andy, the turbine provoked a discussion about their distrust of the science behind the technology. They linked these feelings to the distrust they have towards the tobacco industry and politicians. They are concerned that financial interests are at play, and decisions are not being made based on the effectiveness of the technology but rather from self-interest. On page 192, a similar point was raised during interviews within Genre

1 and it was noted how recent political events such as the expenses scandal could have shaped public perception and public trust in political institutions. Here the research from the tobacco industry is noted where research indicated that smoking caused harm was suppressed to avoid an impact on sales. There is likely much to be said about the cross overs between politics and the tobacco industry, the latter being the birthplace for public relations. However this discussion also reveals a potential misunderstanding on the scientific process, where it may take a period of ten years in order to form a scientific consensus especially on issues that would require a lot of proof such as global warming. The lack of a public discourse on the scientific method has allowed the contribution of 3% of scientists to be considered of equal value in debates to the consensus of 97% of scientists in favour of man made global warming.

The feelings of distrust led Alex and Andy to get irate in discussing the way they felt they are being exploited. The interview shortly terminates following this as family members encourage them to move on – these sorts of becomings are not welcome on a peaceful walk in the countryside.

It's how is the - it's like, er, we've got where I live, HS2 going to come right passed my house and I'm thinking it's cutting up all the countryside, just something that only a few people are going to benefit from in the area. Nobody's going to benefit in my area and yet - because it's - it's going from London and cutting through Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire there's no stations or anything going in. It's just the people from Birmingham to London that will benefit from it. I don't know if that's the same here with those? Probably the people in the area are benefiting sort of from them. I don't know. I don't know how - you know? Who's benefitting from them?
Ant, 42, M

In the example above from Ant, the turbine provoked a discussion on the HS2 development. Here the appearance of the turbine body created a cynical-becoming, leading Ant to consider how the countryside at his home will soon be 'cut up' by the construction of the high-speed train. On page 24, I discuss how this is a reaction felt by some local people towards the turbines and link it into a discourse in Wales that has seen villages and countryside replaced with large

infrastructure projects to supply England with resources. Ant does not have this Welsh nationalist discourse, and so instead the question is left unanswered: “I don’t know how – you know? Who’s benefitting from them?”

Following this, Ant decided to end the discussion, as he wanted to continue with his walk.

b. Becoming old and being judged

David, 45, M: We’ve got a similar thing at home you know it’s going off where we live. A school backs onto our house right at the corner of the school field and it’s been quiet there, been there since the ‘70’s and all of a sudden they’ve put a playground right in the corner which is less than three meters from our wall –

Mandy 39, F: Three meters from our boundary so the children –

David: ...and all the kids come there and it’s like just looking into my garden and it’s like –

Mandy: And that’s our house significantly changed forever.

David: It drives me mad to the point where I would move but I don’t want to because I’ve lived there all my life. [Laughs].

Yeah, yeah, yeah I get that, so it would be the same thing.

David: So it would be the same if that was – if I lived there somewhere.

Mandy: Only because like we’re the only ones who know what it was like before, so obviously if someone was coming to buy our house they’ve got the choice to say would that bother them / would it not, but I think for us it has been a significant change, and also from a privacy point of view I think that it works both ways, the children need privacy to play and we want to enjoy our garden without feeling vulnerable as we get older. Once we’re out of the school community – sorry I’m going off on a tangent –

No, it’s fine..

Mandy: It’s a case of we won’t be known and obviously we’ll be older and would hate for someone to comment, ‘oh those old people are watching me while I’m playing’, it’s the society we live in, it’s a bit delicate.

Here the turbine as X-thing on entering the assemblage creates a trajectory that is uncomfortable to the walkers and promotes a feeling of being watched. However unlike being ‘gazed at’ as previously discussed on page 229, the becomings are more creative and move beyond the tourist space. Whilst

discussing the opinions of the turbines as visitors, they considered how it might be different if they lived by a wind farm. The conversation shifted and the visitors formed a comparison between this experience and their own experiences of having a school built behind their house. They identify feelings of anxiety, and note that they would feel vulnerable being so close to the school, being watched by the children. They also consider that they would be judged for themselves watching the children - due to the 'delicate' nature of society. This is quite a strange tangent that emerged in this discussion, as the visitors imagine themselves being accused of being pedophiles for watching the children play in the school, or possibly just identifies a general anxiety towards a changing world that has evolving social norms that they are concerned of overstepping.

I mean, to be honest - I mean, I'm - I'm, er, sixty-three, erm and - and, and you know, and I'm actually have a worry about whether in my lifetime somebody will start saying, you know, probably not that much older than you will be saying that, you know, this guy needs an injection because there isn't enough room for us young people.

Roy, 63, M

A similar becoming also emerged as a walker, Roy, discussed his fear of becoming euthanised against his will. Again here there is an indication of a fear and anxiety towards a changing world with new social norms that Roy feels he may no longer have a place in. Maybe the trajectory that emerged from the intervention of the turbine lead to Roy to consider some of his basal fears - of getting old, of no longer being of value, being replaced by a younger generation, of dying.

c. Becoming a conservative chauvinist

Here the wind turbine assemblage on entering the tourist visitor assemblage begins a problematic and disturbing trajectory that emerges as a becoming concerned about immigration. Here the presence of the turbine assemblage as X-thing prompts the consideration of overpopulation and soon it is clear that this concern is more focused on the overpopulation by individuals of a certain

nationality: 'Eastern European or Asian, Indians' in the Midlands – “every language you can think of apart from English” and the fear (or ‘concern’) that comes with the invasion of the ‘Other’.

I have attempted to represent the anger shown by John above as he stuttered out the words of the quote below. The appearance of the turbine began a trajectory that led him back home to the Midlands and the thoughts that he ‘lives with’ everyday. The holiday assemblage began to fall apart; frustration and anger replacing the feelings of relaxing that were expressed previously during our conversation.

M: Everybody's got a right to [inaudible, wind, 0:28:20] but erm, but the effects I think, er, you know I think the er - I, I, and I wonder whether these wind farms, I mean that's what, you know, is part of your sense of your, erm, research but erm, you know it sort of tie-in I have to say, I have to say, I-I've got some quite, you know ... heavy thoughts surrounding, er, you know - and it's based in and around, I think, over-population - because I think we're on a - a real - you know, we're on a course for disaster.

What I find interesting is, right, so you know, we talk - we've been speaking about these things. Um, maybe only because I made you sit down and talk about it, do you think they would've come up if I hadn't done that?

M: I live with them. It's a daily concern everywhere I look. I mean I'm - You know, from the Midlands and I see over-population everywhere, erm, immigration, excessive immigration, erm and it's not integrated - immigration, it's just flooding an area, you know - you don't necessarily - I mean, it's - I could take you and I could ta- I could take you - I could walk you for an hour and a half; you wouldn't - you wouldn't hear English. - It'd either be Eastern European or Asian, Indian - every language you can think of apart from English - you know, and- and it's, you know it's concerning, you know?
John, 51, M

The discourse around overpopulation had a small revival in the mid 00s, with David Attenborough noting that sending bags of flour to starving families in Africa was ‘barmy’. Social problems such as poverty, famine, lack of resources, are posited as being a ‘natural’ response to human-made problem. Unfortunately such ideas often overlook those affected by these social problems are the poorest in society. It is unclear how overpopulation links in with the anti-immigration

rhetoric then used by John and the paranoia that follows. He notes that he sees 'over-population everywhere he looks' and his concern over not hearing people speak English in large sections of the Midlands.

d. Becoming covered in gray slime

I mean, I think there should be - there are now a few conservation areas in the sea and that is very, very necessary around our coast because I used - when I used to scuba dive, a lot of place you go and the effluent that was coming out, you would not believe it. It is disgusting. And er - it - well we've actually been diving and you seen this brown cloud towards you - and you think what the hell's that? And you think I know what it is -

Really? Oh no.

... off you go, you know? And the thing is on the Isle of Wight, I was - we was there one day in our rib, sort of - you know - having a Sunday by the cliff and er, I said God what's that smell? And we looked in the water, it had changed colour. Clouds of it and that all gets washed one way. What doesn't settle comes back and there's nothing living on the seabed. It's a grey slime. And, you know, now they say well we're cleaning it up now and it's being treated with infra-red and all that, but it doesn't stop the deposits, you know? And that shouldn't be allowed. They shouldn't be allowed to discharge - Anyway, that's enough of that type of thing but -

But I think - I think it's - I don't know if it's maybe relevant, maybe. Do you see, you know -

You see, it's our whole att-

... the dumping of the shit to -
Yeah. At least that is cleaner.

... the turbines?

I see that - well I think dumping of the shit as you eloquently put it, is worse than those - because it's just out of sight, out of mind, you know? And unless you dive and have a look at it, you would not believe your eyes. That's true, you know? It is - it is out of sight, isn't it? It is out of sight so people don't care. I mean, if you go down to Cornwall, they don't make any pretence. You go around there and the old murphy's are floating around. You know, you know where the points are. You think yes there's quite a few here and you go a bit further and you get the odd one or two and by the time they get to the town, they've either dispersed or sunk, you know but -
Rob, 66, M

As the turbine enters the assemblage a trajectory begins that leads to a new position of bodies incorporating an affect of disgust and the grey slime (or faeces) assemblage. The formation of this new assemblage occurs after the wind turbines begin a reconsideration of positioning leading to an imagining of the oceans and tidal powers - before the unexpected emergence of the story noted below on the visitors' experiences in Cornwall. It is in this story the visitor notes their disgust at being face to face with the 'old murphys' floating in the sea and then relates this back to wind energy. The wind turbine assemblage is now altered as it is brought face to face with these old murphys.

Interestingly, Rob notes that the old murphys are worse than the turbines as they are out of sight. His concern here is not just about disgusting experience of coming face to face with the murphys underwater - but the ecological impacts. As the murphys and turbines enter the assemblage they are both considered alien bodies - both 'ecological impacts' to be mitigated.

e. Becoming a Christian and having your beliefs challenged

Erm, and I would say that I guess those are in a sense a necessity now if things are what they're saying they are, you know, with what's happening.

Yeah. How do you feel about what they're saying?

Part of me - I've heard so many different view points that, that there aren't - there isn't - it isn't as bad -...it's not, it's just the times, you know, that we're in that things will go through cycles. And therefore it's, it's maybe government or somebody trying to make money off of it - Erm, which is possible. Erm, I - you hear so many different stories. I mean, I think it - personally I think maybe it is just a cycle - ...that we're in some - Again it comes back to my personal view of if there's a God, which I believe there is, He's got it in control and therefore - maybe that's - some will say that's simplistic and you haven't got to think about these things and you're kind of just, you know, putting your head in the sand but you either believe that He's got it all in control which He's done pretty well so far - or you think you as this little sort-of human can do something, will make a - probably a minor difference. I don't think it's making a big enough difference to - It's almost as if, like, those are people trying to make a bit of a difference, isn't it? It's sort of - yeah. It's a - it's almost kind-of a rebellious thing. It's saying we can cope without. We don't need a person - again, I'm saying my view point but - we don't need a God. We can put this world right. We can be in control of it and - [laughs] and I would say, click of the fingers, He could destroy it if he wanted to so - it's almost a very small symbolic, symbolic thing of rebellion or we can do without you. And actually in hindsight, it looks a - a nightmare.

Calvin, 62, M

Here the turbine as x-thing begins a trajectory that at first results in a becoming-cynical before unexpectedly reacting with religious and Christian assemblages, resulting in a becoming that expresses prejudice and a challenge to the Christian ideals of the visitor. Calvin finds that the assemblage results in a trajectory that brings into question some of the fundamental beliefs that he holds. He sees God as in control and the unfolding of history as part of His plan. The actions of individuals to prevent global warming – as they are positing that they are able to have some control over the world, in a sense to play God – are considered to be ‘rebellious’ and anti-religious. As this trajectory is travelled the bodies within the assemblage are no longer organised in the same way.

This reformation of assemblages has resulted in what was previously considered to be a ‘necessity’ to now be considered a ‘nightmare’.

Summary

Within this final section I have sought to provide examples of becomings that lead into an experience that although display the potential for creative, results in something that is unproductive. Within these examples, the potential creative nature within the tourist space is revealed but is limited by the intensity of the becoming. Here due to the ‘low’ intensity of the formation the potential for future creativity is reduced the experience is less than pleasant for the tourist. This results in the decomposition of bodies within the assemblage.

As I note in the introduction to this section, these experiences can be likened to that described by Grit (2014) in the museum. Here he responds to the objects and bodies around him as new assemblages form. However, he soon finds himself surrounded with people staring strangely at him due to his unusual behavior, and he is asked to leave the museum by a security guard. Within Deleuzian terms, these becomings are ethical in that they promote creativity and move towards *difference*, but are less productive due to the nature of their intensity. Within a clinical setting, such experiences could be likened to mental

illness, where the unity of consciousness collapses and the mind opens itself up to the endless and infinite mutations and chaos. Within the tourism setting this instead relates to the unity of the experience, resulting instead in the destruction of the experience rather than of the mind of the mental patient.

This suggests the need for a sort of balance between the potential within becoming-other and the understanding that is gained through reterritorialisation. Such understandings may be facilitated by the 'territory' within which they occur, both in terms of the tourist with a keen eye of serendipitous experiences and the territory of the sightseeing space itself, providing a space within which these creative potentials can be explored and examined.

That is not to say that the possibility for black holes can be entirely avoided, but argues the need for a curated cabinet of curiosities, organised in a way to facilitate desiring-production in creatively useful ways.

This thesis will now proceed to reflect on the results discussed above in each of the quadrants together, pulling together the various strands and ideas that have emerged through this analysis and considering the potential ideas that can be drawn from conducting research in this way.

Reflections of the current analysis

In this chapter the becomings of experiences in the countryside were analysed. This analysis does not attempt to offer a framework or a selection of becomings that may be accessed by the visitor, but rather aims to provide an empirical basis to support the argument that the potential for these types of becomings is present. The ways in which the types of becoming are present are evidenced through examples drawing on fieldwork undertaken in Nant-Yr-Arian, an attraction in Mid Wales. It is argued that this way of thinking about experience needs to be explored further in tourism planning to consider how spaces of sightseeing can be used to unlock their 'radical' potential.

Due to the adoption of a Deleuzian inspired research methodology, a schizophrenic approach to analyzing the data is used. The first stage of this reflection includes a discussion of the becomings in a format to comply with the research outcomes of the current project, to comply with the requirements of the funding bodies that supported this research, and to engage and comply with discourses of academic research with which this work will seek to influence. The work does not seek to quantify the responses of participants, but rather to outline the forms of responses and analyse how these may impact on the tourist experience. A rejection of this initial analysis and discussion then follows, where the anti-philosophical considerations of this work is discussed, exploring the potential empirically suggested by this work. This is explored through Deleuze's concept of the Virtual.

Planned Habitual Analysis (a Tourist analysis)

The study identified becomings that would be expected to emerge as a product of the tourism planning and marketing of Nant Yr Arian, as both the site of the research and an important tourist site, and indeed of the region as a whole. Here the tourist space has been constructed as a site for enjoyment. This tourist space could be analysed in Urryian terms as one constructed in line with the Tourist

Gaze – here we could identify the position of the benches along the winding path that direct the eyes of the tourist over a picturesque landscape (one that is modeled to Victorian bourgeois standards) or consider the signposted landscape (the corpse) that carves up heterogeneous place into discrete consumable spaces (the organs) (Foucault, 1973, p. 162). The tourist becomings noted above represent those that would be emergent and consistent with the discourses described by Urry (1990). Visitors described a becoming of retreat, ‘getting away from it’, leaving behind the troubles and complications of the city to experience a more peaceful existence in the countryside and have their desires met. The landscape presents itself as a safe whole; opening itself up to representation and understanding as the tourists take pictures and consider environmental issues. The tourists here are happy and the experience would be likely to promote repeat visits as tourists encourage friends and family to visit and also enjoy the countryside. The wind turbines make a positive impact here on the experience as they function as an object to be Gazed upon by the tourist appearing as an ‘organ’ of the dissected body. It appears as something interesting or familiar, emerging as a modern version of a windmill and offering reassurance; or appears as something ugly and distasteful as the solution is clearly elsewhere. It is in these becomings that the potential to explore the development of wind energy tourist attractions within the current discourse of tourism planning is demonstrated – however I wish to argue that a more productive (or radical) potential should be explored through creative becomings.

Negative impacts in a conventional (tourist) sense are identified within ‘disinterest tourist becomings’. Here the space created by the Tourist Gaze is unsatisfying and fails to meet the desires of tourists. Some tourists spoke negatively of the turbines, explaining that they distracted from the view, catching their eye as they moved on the hillside and being an interruption in an otherwise perfect picture – like a blot or stain. Noise (or the perceived potential impact of noise) was also a major concern for tourists. Indeed, where the interviews were conducted it was not possible to hear the noise of the rotating blades, but nevertheless tourists were anxious about the potential impact that noise may have on their experience. The most unproductive becoming noted was that of the

‘annoyed tourist’. Here the presence of the turbine stirred up feelings of anger, frustration and annoyance, making the visitor want to turn away and head in the opposite direction – however here it is not possible to distinguish if this opposite direction is out of Nant Yr Arian or just away from the turbine itself (maybe towards the café?). Sometimes getting to the root of this annoyance was difficult but it was possible to discover in some cases that it emerged not only from subjective aesthetic preference, but also from feelings of distrust. The annoyed tourist wanted to stop talking about wind turbines, and became frustrated to questioning and to the research process (albeit not as frustrated as was previously recorded in Genre 1) – this unproductive quality may have impacts on both management requirements for a conventional tourism strategy, as well as a radical one that emphasises productive creativity. Quotations that record negative responses to wind energy are familiar to those that have been found in the previously undertaken perception based research (e.g. Aitchison, 2012; Atkinson, 2006; Devine-Wright, 2005; Mori Scotland, 2002) and results from the present study in Genre one (see page 182).

In addition to these tourist becomings, the work utilised a participant led methodology that allowed more unusual, or what is considered here to be, creative becomings in response to the wind turbines. This approach allowed conceptions of the technology to be recorded that may be overlooked in more top-down approaches. The research demonstrates a degree of play by the tourists, playing with concepts of Place as the landscape becomes like the backdrop to the teletubbies TV show and the turbines become like toys on their landscape. This idea of play during the tourist experience has been studied as part of the performative turn in tourism studies, notably by Veijola and Jokinen (1994: 149) who attempt to return the role of the body to tourism studies. Incidentally, the current work also seeks to continue drawing from this identified absence in research that considers embodiment, but now looks to the absence of the *absent-body* (Deleuze and Bacon, 2003, p. 34) within sociological studies on tourism – the absence of the body without organs.

Visitor impacts that may be seen as more negative, emerge as feelings of distrust, fear and uncertainty in response to the wind turbines. From a tourism management perspective, the data is suggestive of the underlying processes that influence perceptions of wind turbine developments. Indeed Wolsink (2000) notes that negative perceptions of wind energy developments (specifically NIMBY-ism) emerges not from a dislike of the technology but rather from a distrust in the science and governance surrounding the developments. Work has also identified the impact of a lack of consistent planning policy in Mid Wales and a lack of public engagement in the planning process as having a negative impact on public perceptions of the technology (Warren *et al.*, 2005). These negative perceptions emerge in the data as general cynicism and distrust in 'experts' and politicians, drawing links with recent scandals that have damaged public trust in government (expenses scandal, etc.). These results seem to point towards an argument for a conception of turbine impacts that goes beyond subjective aesthetics (without disregarding it), considering the aesthetic qualities of the turbine to be unable to be detached from conceptions of power and politics. Furthermore, conventional survey or interview-based methodologies may fail to recognise these aspects of turbine impacts on tourism experience, and thus fail to reveal the potential within tourism to address these issues. It is thus argued that a more participatory and open approach is needed to research on this topic.

Conceptions of Virtualities (a Nomadic analysis)

"Philosophy is the theory of multiplicities, each of which is composed of actual and virtual elements. Purely actual objects do not exist. Every actual surrounds itself with a cloud of virtual images" (Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, p. 148).

To consider a Deleuzian approach in the current work it is necessary to first note some ontological considerations within the framework used during analysis and how this relates to the project that seeks to explore unexamined potentialities within tourism. For Deleuze there is no subject to experience, there is only experience itself. Experience is in a constant state of 'becoming' made up of both

'virtual' and 'actual' states. The movement of a becoming from a virtual state into an actual state is referred to as divergent actualisation. Actualisation, however should not be seen as something final, but rather as a continuous process in relation to the virtual. Egyed (2006) notes: 'Virtual' is Deleuze's name for the mobile difference of heterogeneous multiplicities – for dynamic being. Actual beings do not, in his view, have separate existence apart from this virtual being. They are, simply, temporal phases in the process of its eternal actualisation.' (p. 81-2). It is here where Deleuze's methodology of transcendental empiricism is based. The transcendental here refers to the virtual, the real factors that lead to the genesis of a certain state of affairs in real 'actual' experience. A project utilising this methodology thus seeks to analyse the fundamental structures of virtuality and how these impact upon real experience, and thus is not interested in specific cases of actual experience, as these are purely specific to the conditions within which they emerge. Thus in a work that seeks to continue a trajectory initiated by Deleuzian *non-sense*, actualised concepts need to be acknowledged for their role in response to emergent problems. An ethical research for Deleuze disrupts, confronts and ruptures, creating and permitting the creation of thought that avoids responding predictably to problems. This is a body of research without organs, "permeated by unformed, unstable matters, by flows in all directions, by free intensities or nomadic singularities, by mad or transitory particles" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004b, p. 40)

Massumi (2002) paraphrases Deleuze in providing a critique of the problems with the use of models in cultural and literary theory, stating '[it] is not that they are too abstract to grasp the concreteness of the real. The problem is that they are not abstract enough to grasp the real in corporeality of the concrete' (p.5). Such issues are inherent to the use of any framework when applied to new context and in new applications. Unlike Grit, the becomings described in this chapter cannot be placed firmly within each quadrant of the diagram and instead I would like to position these becomings on a scale, emphasising their composition as one of continuous movement – this movement may last a second or could extend beyond the temporal confines of the research. In addition, considering these becomings as spatial movements is also problematic and is

provided only to enable a framework for these movements to be written down. Instead these movements should be considered to run coincidentally, alternating in frequency and intensity as connection between assemblages are formed and broken, inside and outside of each other. Thus the categorisation of becomings above reflects recognition of an underlying creative potential (or possible lack thereof) suggested within the becoming, a potential that may not be equal amongst all becomings noted but is nevertheless suggestive of the qualities of the category to which it belongs.

It is also important to note the deeply interpretative nature of the current analysis. The determination of the degree of creativity within a becoming does have subjective qualities but in line with a Deleuzian approach these classifications aim not to be descriptive but rather seek to argue that an underlying/hidden/apparent potential for multiplicity lies within the core of these becomings. In addition, the true 'result' or analysis seeks not to produce a list of potential becomings, or a list of potential roles that the tourist (or tourism manager) can assume/produce but rather seeks to empirically show the potential for creative becomings within tourism (it is noted earlier that Deleuze would ask the question of 'where?' rather than of 'what?'). This too can be said of the categorisation of these creative becomings, which are present to enable the analysis allowing for the empirical argument of this result to be made. These categories do not seek to provide an exhaustive list of possible positions, but rather result from a trajectory that emerges after an encounter with contemporary work utilising Deleuzian philosophy alongside social science research, a concept inscribed on a personal plane of immanence. Rather than being valued for their descriptive quality, these concepts are explored for their productive quality and thus find familiarity with anti-philosophy. In addition, the productive potential of these concepts lies in the opportunities they offer to be revised and expanded, as themselves they function as the X-thing opening the door to a trajectory that may be unexpected.

Chapter 6: Engaging in Crystallisation

Within this chapter I will now seek to bring together the ways of knowing that have been explored within the current work, noting the contributions that this study will make to the field. This chapter will seek to explore instances of similarity and instances of confrontation within the data that has been collected. This is presented below as three themes that I have drawn from the work. Within each of the themes, I draw from the various forms of knowing within the project and in positioning them alongside each other attempt to draw ideas that may inform future work. Each theme is made up of data collected during the Genre, theoretical discussions and my own personal reflections to the process. Ellingson (2009), notes that although this 'debriefing' is not always necessary, it is can be highly useful to the reader, "you debrief your readers with your thoughts on some of the ways in which *you* think your representations fit together" (original emphasis, p. 113). Within this debriefing she suggests the intention is not to present a solid summary or conclusion as to what the results may suggest, but rather to deconstruct, problematise and question the individual meaning of each representation and how these representations may fit together:

"I commonly offer explicit connections among the pieces of my work as yet another facet of the crystal through which readers may encounter the text. I do not see these as limiting readers' interpretations but as providing more food for thought." (p. 113).

Thus it is important to note that although the current chapter seeks to explore some of the themes that emerge throughout the current work, these are not definitive conclusions but rather function as a further text to be analysed alongside the other sides of the 'crystal'. Indeed, I wish to assert this by including my own reflections and personal responses to the data in the analysis, and it is possible that the reader may disagree with the way that the data has been (dis)organised. I first wish to outline the genres that were utilised in the current work and discuss their role in addressing the research questions.

Genre 1 utilised a survey approach supported by a semi-structured interview. This approach sought to analyse the potential impacts from wind energy developments through a post-positivist approach, reusing questions that were already present within the literature and problematising the usefulness of these questions through a semi-structured interview and critical analysis. Using a photo-elicitation method, responses to the wind energy developments were recorded. However, the authenticity of these responses was questioned due to effectiveness of the use of photomontage images, and due to issues of participant distrust in the technology and the research project itself. Drawing on previous research, this approach sought to consider the potential to develop a response to climate concerns within tourism, exploring the interest of participants in visiting a visitor attraction developed around a wind turbine development as seen in Whitelee Wind Farm. Although useful data for the funders for the current project, this approach limits the way that the wind energy development and tourism may be strategically applied within a climate change mitigation strategy. In order to move beyond this limitation, the next empirical strategy sought to further analyse the way that people engage with the turbines and how this engagement could be applied within a strategy to work towards addressing the impending climate crisis.

Genre 3 sought to address the same questions as the aforementioned approach, however it adopted a different strategy and sought to answer these questions in a different way in the hope of addressing the problems with Genre 1. Using a more interpretivist approach, I sought to address the issues that emerge from the initial genre, moving beyond the limitations imposed through the adoption of commonly used methodologies to investigate this issue within the literature. Research question 2 here takes prominence over research question 1, as I begin to look at the way people 'respond' to the turbine developments instead of considering the potential 'impacts'. Here the potential within tourism is explored at a more fundamental level, exploring if these encounters with wind turbines offer the potential for people to think differently about the environment and climate and if this thinking is productive

Although not a genre of research, I also wish for the theoretical work that has been undertaken to be considered one side of the research crystal and have so considered this genre 2. This genre also charts my development as a researcher, as I explore some of the political issues that surround environmental concerns, and build on these issues to consider how a mitigation strategy based within tourism may appear. These political issues are largely based on a Marxist conception of Nature and Ecology. Within this theoretical chapter I also address issues relating to the conduct of the research process itself. Early research identified feelings of distrust that led to the development of a more participant-led approach in order to avoid reproducing this distrust. Through an analysis of the literature I here consider how a research approach can be both politically progressive without being dictatorial in its requirements.

In order to provide an opportunity for productive analysis, a number of possible crystalisations are presented below as themes of the project that have emerged from the research.

Theme 1: Creativity, the Unexpected and the Turbine as X-thing

Central to the work (although emerging within the second half of the project) was the importance for unplanned and unexpected events, and the potential for the wind turbine to create this possibility. This potential for creativity emerges as of greater primary concern, than explicitly addressing environmental concerns in order to avoid privileging certain forms of engagement. The turbine functions as Grit's X-thing in two respects, first as the provocative object for participants in the study identified in Genre 3 but also as my own X-thing, opening up opportunities for my own new engagements with the world. At the project's core this creativity is represented in the analytical processes that I am currently working with, within the methodology of crystalisation that is employed at the core of this text. Following Deleuze's ontology of immanence, this process seeks to consider and reorganise the affects, assemblages and concepts that make up the world around us. By reorganising these connections,

new ways of seeing the world can appear (or to adopt the context of the current study, new ways of looking at the problem and developing solutions can appear) and rather than seeking fixed responses and conclusive answers (that may not exist), the approach seeks to look for stories that ring true, resonate, engage, and move.

This approach emerges in contrast to previous studies that have situated participants within a more passive role. These previous studies have adopted a more survey led or more positivist based approach such as that employed within Genre 1. This is likely a result of funding that has allowed for these previous projects to be undertaken, as they are noted to be often funded by NGO or Government Organisations and would thus require generalisable and results that are able to fit within a preexisting narrative. Low and Everett (2014) have pointed to the difficulties when working with funding partners. Indeed, the need for communicable and 'useful' results for the funding partners was also an issue within the present study and led to the approach taken in Genre 1, but the flexibility within the PhD project allowed for a greater degree of researcher autonomy and control. The methodological problems within these studies has already been noted earlier in the project, where I note issues with Willingness to Pay and Contingent Valuation approaches and address limitations within specific studies within the literature. Within these approaches participant responses are limited either by the questions asked or through the analysis itself - respondents can find themselves reduced to ticking boxes on an issue that is very important to them, or despite being asked open-ended questions find their voices limited by the researcher during the analysis of the data.

Within phase 1 and the literature review it is argued that this approach may be both limiting the potentially useful data available and may be contributing towards feelings of distrust and alienation. In part this has been argued to be a result of market led approaches to renewable energy development, allowing the domination by larger businesses (Malon, 2006) and due to a lack of consideration for local concerns (McKenzie-Hedger, 1995). Despite this, local support for developments is a significant issue and can often mean the difference

between the acceptance and rejection of a project application (Toke, 2002). A lack of clear government policy also reinforced this distrust (Warren *et al.*, 2005) resulting in conflict between the media and numerous lobby groups as they sought to push their own agenda and influence public discourse. In Wales other issues involving Welsh identity were revealed, highlighting the continuing relevance of past events at Tryweryn. Within genre 3, the flooding of Tryweryn was mentioned explicitly by some participants, who related the development of wind turbines in Mid Wales to the flooding of the valley to provide water for Liverpool in 1960. It is clear both from the literature review and from discussing these issues with participants in the study that there is a real feeling of a lack of benefit for local communities that are in proximity to the proposed developments.

Considering these issues and the remit of the current study to research the impacts of wind energy developments and to explore opportunities for engagement with climate science, a methodology was required that would attempt to work beyond these concerns. In order to do this, it was proposed that participant led methodologies may offer the potential to work with the issues felt by participants providing an opportunity for the production of new research data, whilst addressing feelings of distrust (or at least avoiding the reproduction of feelings of distrust) in an effort to explore possibilities to work beyond these barriers. In order to address these issues it was essential that any analysis retained the voice of the participants and avoided privileging certain forms of responses and forms of data that could be collected. It is for this reason that the current study adopts a methodology of crystallisation, which in turn influenced the analytical strategy employed within Genre 3.

The value of 'creativity' was seen as not only allowing for a democratised research approach, but also to open up a space for thinking about nature and our environment *differently*. Within Genre 2, I explore these latter ideas further, drawing on the research journey that led to me exploring the productive potential of thinking 'creatively' about ecology and environment. These ideas are explored further in theme 2 below and here I wish to return to the use of

creativity within the research process and the role of the turbine as X-thing (drawing on the terminology utilised by Grit, 2012). Within crystallisation, a number of research strategies from contrasting epistemologies are utilised alongside one another in a way that could not usually be possible. This approach seeks to combine the goals of artistic/impressionist approaches in unraveling accepted truths and to explore the specific aspects of the experience whilst also exploring the pragmatic implications for practitioners which may be considered as a quality of a more middle ground approach. I aim to generate interpretations from the data that is collected, exploring the data from various angles to generate new ideas about the world (currently expressed within the current chapter as a number of 'themes' of the work). These interpretations are not definitive and readers may disagree and emerge with their own conclusions based on the data and the research presented. In this way the work seeks not only to be creative but also to inspire creativity in others, creating opportunities for new debates and new ways of conducting research. In it's multi-genre approach this strategy avoided privileging certain forms of data collection that may exclude some potential participants in the work and allows for the data to be accessible to as wide a demographic as possible. Indeed, on page 130, I discuss the value of including a wide range of participants actively within the research process drawing on the example of Aids trails provided in Epstein (1995). I too also to explore the opportunity to work beyond feelings of distrust, and thus required an approach that is inclusive and open.

This was facilitated by the research methodology of Genre 3 where instead of seeking to interpret the text in a conventional sense, I use data collected during interviews with participants to chart themes and movements (the 'becomings'). Here I sought to avoid interpreting the text to find hidden messages, and instead presented the words of participants as they were presented to me in the field. The interpretation that is conducted draws links between different sections of speech (or different becomings), thus charting my own becomings on engaging with the text as well as those of my participants. In doing this, the voices that are represented are not dissected and interrogated (as in a psychosocial methodology) but are presented as a recorded snapshots of an interaction. Using

a framework developed by Grit, I apply and explore the expressions of the participants in my fieldwork, in order to provoke the interactions for productive potential. Indeed, this analysis is deeply interpretive and personal, but I have sought to justify my reasoning and clearly outline my processes. Furthermore, through the utilisation of this framework I am able to accommodate responses that may be excluded in other research methodologies, representing data that may be unusual or considered without value in alternative research approaches. Within my analysis it is sometimes these unusual responses that were interesting as they identified possibilities for opportunities of thinking *differently* that can emerge when confronted with the wind turbine.

From data collected within Genre 3 it is clear that turbine has the possibility to function as the X-thing. Just as the lion entering the scene for Grit, the emergence of the turbine over the hill for my participant walkers has the potential to disrupt and disorganise the assemblages within the scene. Opportunities for 'becoming-other' emerge, exemplified within the data through the stories told by participants in 'becoming a child' or 'becoming old and judged'. Here unexpected responses emerge that are not constructed by the tourist space, an opportunity is created for deterritorialisation, as new assemblages are created and meanings open themselves to change. Of particular interest within the analysis were these becomings that open themselves up to further deterritorialisation as they promote further creation of new assemblages in line with tourist desire. I refer to these as high intensity creative becomings. Beyond genre 3, the turbine can also be considered as an X-thing within the research project itself, as I reflect on the role of the turbine in my own journey. The appearance of the turbine provoked me to read, study and reflect more on the assumptions that I make when conducting research. Indeed, I am now a very different researcher and person, three years on after first visiting the turbines in Nant Yr Arian. I have attempted to display this within the current project, exploring the different avenues that I have visited within the project, often leading to a dead end (e.g. looking at potential within psychoanalysis as a research approach, exploring WTP and CV techniques, developing walking methodologies and photographic techniques). I have tried to avoid presenting the current document as a coherent

whole, as in truth it represents a disjointed journey, with bumps in the road and unexpected deviations. There are many unexpected assemblages that have been created and dismantled following the appearance of the first turbine in 2011.

Theme 2: Opportunities for personal reflection on ecological issues

This project opened up the opportunity for my own personal reflection on ecological issues, but also demonstrated the potential for reflection for all within spaces of travel. Within this space, being confronted with a wind turbine made some participants think and discuss the issues of wind energy and climate change either amongst themselves as a group of travellers or individually during the interview. Additionally, the work opened a space for my own reflection and theoretical explorations on ecological issues and addressing these issues within a research framework. This is represented within the current text that charts my own journey in searching for productive opportunities within tourism, and developing a response to the growing threat of climate change within the humanities.

Within Genre 1, the potential to develop a response within tourism to climate change is addressed directly. Visitors were asked if they would be interested in visiting a wind farm visitor centre where they would be able to learn more about the wind farm developments and environmental issues. Visitors who were staying locally to visit for an extended period of time (in contrast to day visitors and those travelling through an area) showed greater interest (53% were 'interested' or 'very interested'). Sixty four per cent of residents interviewed were also 'interested' or 'very interested', however this is unreliable due to a small sample size ($n=14$). Participants also noted an interest in the opportunity to reduce their carbon footprint whilst on their holiday, however this interest decreased when they were required to pay a greater price. It was also possible to consider the potential within a wind farm visitor centre from the data obtained from the site visit and staff interviews at Whitelee Wind Farm, Scotland. At the site on the outskirts of Glasgow visitors are able to get up close to the turbines

and take part in activities such as Tai Chai, cycling and crafts. There is also a highly successful interactive exhibit that seeks to inform visitors about the technology. The managers that were interviewed also noted a number of 'regular customers' who often visit to enjoy the facilities and the scenery suggesting a potential for these initially intrusive objects to become part of the daily lives of members of the local communities. The centre has also forced new connections to be developed between the private and public sector, opening up new possibilities for collaboration and engagement. SPR noted during interviews that their lack of experience in creating a visitor centre required that they seek support from the Glasgow Science Centre. A partnership with the RSPB has also been established, likely in response to popular conceptions of damage to native bird populations from wind turbine developments, further strengthening the centres scientific basis and offering as an educational resource.

Genre 3 built on these initial results as the interactions that could take place at such a visitor centre were explored and analysed. Through a participant led interview approach, participants discussed their responses to the turbines on the landscape and these interactions were analysed. Here using a methodology drawing on Deleuzian philosophy, the potential within these interactions are analysed. Here the analysis does not seek to understand what these interactions may mean, but rather ask - what is it possible for these interactions to do? And thus, what opportunities do face-to-face interactions with wind turbines offer (like that from visiting a visitor centre) for people, and do they make people think differently about the environment, wind energy and climate change?

These sorts of thoughts emerge as both 'planned habitual becomings' and more nomadic and creative becomings. There were a number of visitors who expressed their reflections on the environment, either positively (a pro-turbine stance) or negatively (either an anti-turbine stance or a distrust in climate science). For some the real life appearance of the turbines only helped to support their position, but for others standing face-to-face with the turbines helped to alleviate their fears and the worries they previously had about noise, visual impact, etc. Through the use of the Deleuzian methodology, more unusual

responses could be recorded and considered. Some of these unusual responses suggest the possibility for more creative thinking that may open up the possibility about thinking about ecology and the environment in new ways. For example, for some participants becoming face to face with the turbines allowed them to engage differently with the technology in a new way, seeing them through the eyes of the child or seeing them as mysterious objects that provoked thought. For these participants it is possible that this new way of seeing may open up the possibility for them to begin to reconsider the way they relate to their environment and the world around them. During analysis I also refer to the idea of 'intensity' and revealed the possibility for high intensity becomings in these interactions. These interactions are especially important as they revealed a potential for new ways of thinking and being in the world to emerge and for this process to continue as one newly formed assemblage leads to another. Here assemblages are constantly created and destroyed, as bodies reorganise themselves in space, creating a chain reaction that may lead to unexpected results – just as the fall of one domino can trigger a surprising chain reaction in a Rube Goldberg machine.

The theoretical work in Genre 2 sought to search for and develop an opportunity for ecological critique from within the literature. Here, I ask 'why do we need to resist?' and develop an argument for a consideration of ecology that builds on a Marxist conception of Nature. Through this, I argue that an ethical conception of ecology needs to look beyond forms of ethical consumption that emerge from neoliberal capitalism, and towards a radical green agenda that has anti-capitalism roots. Any opportunities for this form of ecology that can emerge from within the tourism experience thus needs to emerge from the moments within this space that provoke self-reflection and awareness on the limitations of the current economic system. Initially I explored these ideas through the conception of the Gaze proffered by MacCannell, as his idea of the third gaze suggested a potential within tourism where tourist desire demands more than can be offered within the experience. Here I considered the potential for this desire to create a space for critique through a more orthodox reading of Lacan's Gaze, alongside Žižek's recent work to politicise the Lacanian text. Despite offering the potential

for political critique, the result is limiting within the current project, as although illuminating the potential within desire, this potential becomes limited within the confines of psychoanalytical theory. To fully liberate this potential, I turned to the work of Deleuze and Guattari and their critique of psychoanalysis. Through this approach, I provide a theoretical basis to the project and argue that a potential within the tourist space exists due to the nature of capitalist desire itself. Deleuze and Guattari's critique sees a reversal and liberation of desire, where rather than being something to be overcome or contained within psychoanalysis (the desire is the symptom of capitalism), desire becomes the source of change itself and by exploring the moments where desire becomes liberating we may find moments to enhance or exploit to provoke change. Linked within all these processes has been my own personal journey as I have sought to reflect on ecological issues and social research. The project came with challenges as I sought to develop an approach that was both politically conscious, but was able to meet the requirements of my funding partners. I approached the project with the intention to develop a critique of the prevailing conceptions of wind energy and tourism. Theoretically, my approach to this research has matured as I became more familiar with contemporary theoretical approaches that went beyond my foundation in Eco-Marxism, and rather than merely critiquing prevailing systems I began to consider the possibility to develop a positive approach that sought to explore opportunities for a productive potential within these prevailing systems. In order to avoid reproducing systems of power and domination this critique becomes less explicit and directed towards climate or economic issues – and more about exploring opportunities for ways of thinking that may lead to creating opportunities to challenge or exist outside (or maybe 'visit a place outside) of dominant public discourses or prevailing ideologies. Through the use of the theories adopted in the current project, an approach was developed that is able to offer this liberating potential. These ideas are discussed within the theoretical chapters where a line of flight through the academic text is charting as this liberating methodology is developed.

In addition to being theoretically liberating, a methodology was required that was open to participant engagement and would avoid privileging certain forms

of knowledge. Initially I sought to explore this through psychoanalysis in response to the literature but found this limiting – this is discussed on page 80. This strategy failed at offering a true liberating potential, instead replacing one system of thought with another, with a theory that at times can resemble a sacred text. Complying with this text offers the possibility for productive engagement, but requires a leap of faith as such a possibility cannot be empirically shown. To move beyond this, I aimed to develop an approach that works beyond the structures and approaches developed from psychoanalysis but reframes them in a way that is open and avoids theoretically dogmatic based interpretation. By doing this I have sought to work with the positive aspects of psychoanalysis and address what I saw as limitations.

I have also been made aware of my own limitations through this research journey. On becoming aware of my limited understands of the topic, I passed through phases of resentment and defiance, then resignation and surrender, and finally purpose and intent. Within psychoanalytical frameworks, this phase of resignation emerged as the limit of possible understanding, and led to a search elsewhere where I found more productive approaches in contrasting theoretical frameworks. These later frameworks were liberating as they proposed an understanding of creativity and freedom (unlike the frameworks that encourage and require submission with psychoanalysis) and promote an understanding of the world that is personal and full of movement. Indeed, I am no less sure of the correct approach to ecology and neither do I fully reject or embrace the possibilities of wind energy – but now I am able to propose an approach that may find possibilities for new ways of doing research or of thinking about the world that might lead to these answers, and acknowledges the essential role that others will play in this journey.

Although the framework that was used within the current study may be reproduced and may assist other researchers – the study aims not to provide a template, but rather to function as an ‘x-thing’ in it’s own right. Building on Grit’s (2012) work, I adapted the model he utilised to be specific to the current study and its aims (providing a method that produced data that will be useful to

funders, and one can analyse data that is created with participants in contrast to the ethnographic approach in Grit's work); whilst also aiming to look beyond (linking these approaches to a more explicitly political project and being open to the unexpected). Here the potential that emerges from this project for future research(ers) is not necessarily in the methods and approaches that have been developed, maybe not even the ideas that have emerged from the research, but rather in the opening up that can occur from the work – the new ideas that may emerge from the introduction of the ideas within the current project into the academic discourse. This project in its written form represents the charting of a number of becomings, some very personal, and it aims to begin a trajectory that will continue beyond the text in my work (and possibly in the work of future researchers who seek to adopt a complementary approach).

Theme 3: The fascism in us all

Lastly, I wish to allude to Foucault in his preface for *Anti-Oedipus*, where he refers to the lure of power within one's own personal discourse. Here he refers not only to 'power' in a traditional sense (as the domination of one person over another, of the power represented in positions of authority) (pg. xiv-xv) but also the internal need for domination over knowledge and understanding. It is this domination that *Anti-Oedipus* seeks to overcome, to open a possibility for people to start asking new questions and thinking differently. This project brought to the surface feelings of totalising paranoia in its participants (including myself) and represented my own overcoming of this need for complete and whole understandings. The project identified these moments of 'fascism' over discourse as participants sought to preserve a conception of landscape that has never existed. Navigating these ideas whilst preserving my own political aspirations for the work proved difficult, but through *difference* the project identified productive potential for both myself as researcher and for the participants of the study.

This domination over understanding is exemplified in the statements of the Countryside Council for Wales and the Campaign for the Protection of Rural Wales, who hold a privileged and fetishised conception of the Welsh countryside.

Here the wind turbines represent a potential intrusion into a landscape that they consider 'natural' and 'wild'. Although there is a significance in having a personal and subjective relationship with the Welsh landscape, declaring one version of the Welsh countryside (which itself has been created from years of farming and human activity) unequivocally as the 'true' and 'natural' version, disregards the potential within the countryside for future development both aesthetically, economically and as part of a climate mitigation strategy. In Mortons (2007) book, *Ecology without Nature*, in response to these approaches to ecology he writes: "Putting something called Nature on a pedestal and admiring it from afar does for the environment what patriarchy does for the figure of Woman." (pg. 5) Here 'protection' of the environment only results in greater domination and thus estrangement; rather than as an acknowledgement of the role that the environment plays in our daily lives.

Within the empirical sections of the project this fascism over discourse appeared not only in the fixed perceptions of the surrounding nature and environment but also in the fixed understandings of these concepts. Thus rather than creating opportunities for thinking differently, conflicting views only sought to reaffirm the totalising understandings of participants. This can be likened to the findings of Crossley (2012) in her study with volunteer tourists. Exploring volunteer tourists' encounters with poverty in rural Kenya, she finds that despite poverty being conceptualised as a threatening object, tourists are able to deal with this anxiety by removing the encounters of their transformative potential. The poverty of those that they encounter becomes neutralised as it is consumed and the communities are seen as 'poor but happy'. Within the current study similar movements were revealed in the presence of the turbine, where despite the turbine functioning as the X-thing (and thus opening up possibilities for *difference*) this potential is soon negated and pacified. For one participant despite initially expressing insecurity towards the turbine, her experiences with religion were soon noted and a new totalising system presented to deal with this insecurity (pg. 133).

This is the site for the battle over climate change within the humanities – the challenge is to overcome fixed and totalising systems of thought. Unlike previous approaches that have sought to educate, or engage and thus encourage trust, these results appear to suggest a third way that moves beyond both approaches. The project suggests that the potential lies not only within engagement as the transformative potential here can still be neutralised, but within the proliferation of ‘creative becomings’ alongside engagement. The end goal lies not in engagement but rather in the proliferation of a multiplicity of potentially productive experiences.

The project also represents my own battle with the need for totalising discourses. Although not explicit within the writing of the project, early approaches were driven by a need for an approach to researching the topic that was resistant to critique. In an effort to move beyond the limitations of positivist approaches, the project turned towards more interpretivist methodologies based on psychoanalytical theory. Although these theories offered security and the potential for understanding, I soon became aware that the approach was limiting in its infallibility. The lure of such a totalising system was compelling, as it could be used to fully explain the actions of any behavior or experiences that either I or the participants in my study noted. However, such systems are incompatible with an approach to understanding phenomenon in a way that is led through scientific investigation, in their inability to be disproved. Initially I thought that after unpacking some of the ideas within the theory, psychoanalysis would be able to account for these limitations. However, through further study it was clear that it was necessary to look elsewhere - despite having already invested a large amount of time and energy (and finances). After deciding to stop studying psychoanalysis, I became aware of similar critiques being raised by academics and adopted the strategy employed later within the study.

Chapter 7: Evaluating and moving forward

The purpose of this final chapter is to provide an overview of the research, drawing together the main line of argument, outlining the method of study that was adopted, discussing the contribution of knowledge to the field and stating recommendations for policy and future research.

Project Overview

The study set out to explore the relationships between visitors and wind energy developments in the Mid Wales countryside. Through a methodology of crystallisation, the work sought to explore the potential opportunities that may emerge from this interaction – initially in terms of developing a visitor attraction around wind energy, but more importantly in order to explore the potential within these interactions to function as part of a radical political project. The aims of this study were developed both in partnership with the funding partners TPMW who sought to examine the ways that impacts of wind energy could be understood, and my own aims of developing a project that sought to understand how wind energy developments could be utilised within a form of activism towards public engagement.

The extent to which I am able to provide concrete answers to these questions is restricted – in part due to the open-ended methodology that has been adopted. When developing an approach to explore the ‘impact’ of the proposed wind energy development at Nant Yr Moch, I found the current strategies adopted in the literature to be lacking reliability, either due to inherent weaknesses within the methodologies used, or due to the adaptations required when analysing a development that has yet to be built. These issues are unavoidable within a study that seeks to predict the potential impact from a development that is still in the planning process, as the potential changes that may occur in public attitudes are unknown. This may be especially true in the case of wind energy where the public is highly dependent on the print media for information on developments, as was found in Genre 1. Even during the years within which the present study

was conducted, the political discourse surrounding wind energy has changed significantly, with decreasing support for wind energy developments as part of conservative government policy. It is difficult to anticipate how the political landscape may change in the time required for a development to be planned, approved, and constructed, and the resulting effect this may have on public perception. Whilst acknowledging these limitations, I reproduced some of the techniques adopted in previous research to provide data that can be used as a comparison to other studies that have had an influential impact on tourism planning and environmental policy. To do this I developed a mixed methodology approach (Genre 1), using some of the key questions from previous work and a semi-structured interview section. However, through the use of this semi-structured interview I revealed further concerns that bring into question the reliability of the results that can be obtained on this topic through a survey based approach. The ability to thus provide a prediction of impact from the development on tourism is difficult, and any result is based on a number of assumptions that are likely to change (possibly due to the result of the study itself). Quantified impacts are thus potentially misleading and qualitative results although interesting and useful as part of a longitudinal project cannot be generalised and may have limited use for providing planning or policy recommendations.

In considering the opportunities present within the visitor-turbine encounter to function as a form of activism the project found greater success. Within a Deleuzian framework, there is a suggested potential within the encounter to open up a pathway to difference. That is to say, that it was possible to identify participants that experienced or took part in becomings that go beyond what is expected within the signposted tourist space. Although I began this investigation with a more traditional Marxist conception in mind of what this sort of activism would appear as, throughout the research process I recognised the need for a more bottom up form of engagement and thus the goal of the encounter moved from one that prompted reflection in specified ways (for example critical thinking towards the inability of turbines to address the fundamental economic and social issues that prevent progressive environmental action), towards

developing a space where different ways of thinking can emerge, out of the everyday, that may bring habitual thought processes into question. The route to emancipation is less clear (it is itself 'becoming'), but is led through emergent ideas and ways of being rather than from discourses that themselves may have been used as tools of oppression. However, although the current research has identified the potential for this sort of engagement, there is a clear need to consider the next step on how these sorts of becomings can be cultivated.

Contribution to the literature

This thesis contributes knowledge in a number of ways. The work has sought to introduce new concepts, provide new approaches to methodology and add to a growing body of research on wind energy and tourism. The main contribution is to provide insights to tourism managers (those who have an ecotourism/green agenda), scholars, and activists, on how tourism space can function within a radical environmental project and to begin a conversation on how these interactions may be exploited. This thesis provides a framework to academics in tourism study and management, for them to consider the opportunities within tourism space outside of capitalist discourses of managing and controlling space to ensure greater economic productivity.

The work explicitly addresses the limitations within the current literature on wind energy and tourism, providing a constructive critique that attempts to propose ways around these limitations. In providing this critique I do not aim to negate the work that has been conducted previously, but rather stress the need for new ways of approaching research in this area, to avoid reproducing distrust and alienation, and producing potentially misleading results on a subject that is highly important to economic and environmental sustainability. I have attempted to move beyond these limitations myself, however I acknowledge the limitations that may exist in reproducing this framework (within a tendered research project for example). Nevertheless, this thesis aims to argue for the need to explore new research approaches that are more inclusive and responsive

to requirements of participants. Recommendations for future study are discussed in more detail on page 278.

The text also provides a robust critique of a more psychoanalytically based conception of Gaze. This formation has recently been adopted by MacCannell (2012) in an effort to provide a theoretical basis to his project to consider the political potential in tourism. The current project clarifies some of the points that are unclear in MacCannell's text through an exposition of the original source material, and provides a consideration of the limitations within this approach. I then develop a progressive theoretical approach to address these limitations through the work of Deleuze and Guattari. In doing this, the work provides a clear exposition of key theoretical ideas that are driving research in others fields (such as in media study and critical theory), and introduces these concepts to the tourism literature.

Moreover, this thesis also provides an additional contribution to the growing field of 'Deleuze studies', representing an early study in a growing area of study still in its infancy. In doing this, in Genre 3 I have adopted Grit's (2013) concept of the X-thing and his framework of becoming, adapting these concepts to use as a tool to guide my Deleuzian inspired analysis. In doing this I aimed to create an 'inventive method' in the terms of Lury and Wakeford (2012); reorientating the existing concepts in order to "make a difference" (p. 11) within the current context. The project as a whole is also fundamentally Deleuzian in its adoption of crystalisation. Here the open-ended nature of the research process is embraced and made transparent, as an ongoing process of becoming that transcends the words on these pages. As more of Deleuze's work becomes translated into English, there is a growing interest in considering how these ideas can be interpreted within social research. Indeed, the theoretical ideas that Deleuze proposed fit into emerging cultural and philosophical ideas (e.g. Metamodernism), making Foucault's (albeit ironic) prediction of a Deleuzian century all the more real. The current project provides an additional early contribution towards the emerging discourse of Deleuzian studies within tourism research.

I wish to close this initial reflection on the process and contribution with a word on the limitation of critique. The current project sought to provoke and explore new ways of conducting research in response to the research question. The ways within which this was done and that are presented within this text emerge as a product of my own personal discourse, situated within a time and space – and to consider these ideas outside of the discourse within which they emerged is not productive. Instead I ask the reader to accompany me through a journey as I seek to answer my research questions, asking them to follow my lead and respond as I did to the text as it presented itself to me. It is in this sense that the project is successful.

Addressing the research questions

Within this section I will now run through each of my research questions and reflect on how the current project has attempted to provide a response.

1. What are the potential impacts on visitor behavior from wind energy developments in Mid Wales?

The study has problematised this question, arguing the difficulty in determining in reliably accessing the impact of the development. In Genre 1 (page 175), I reproduce some of the previous strategies that have been adopted in an attempt to determine the impact of wind energy developments on tourism. I then problematise these results through a semi-structured interview, revealing sources of unreliability in this data. The results that were obtained from the survey support those collected in previous studies, however results from semi-structured interview suggest that the extent to which an impact may have a negative effect on visitor enjoyment (or visitor numbers) may be exaggerated. In closing the results of Genre 1, I posit a number of new questions to function instead of research question 1 that reflect back onto the main research questions. The subject of enquiry thus becomes how a methodology can be developed to analyse wind turbine turbines rather than wind energy itself; how a

research approach can be developed to avoid reproducing feelings of distrust; and how an approach can be developed to access the potential within the experience with the turbine.

2. How do people respond to wind energy developments in rural Wales?

This question follows directly on from the previous, in part as a result of the outcome of Genre 1. The results of Genre 1 can in part help to answer this question. On page 193, I provide a discussion of the responses participants made when asked about their experiences when facing the wind turbines and their perceptions of wind energy. A range of responses were expressed on the turbines, ranging from interest and intrigue to revulsion. Whilst participants expressed that the wind turbines disrupted their enjoyment of the 'natural' countryside, at times they were unaware of the turbines that surrounded us. It was suggested from these results that responses to turbines are more complex than aesthetics, and are imbued with values that emerge from discourses of distrust and nationality. This question is explored further through Genre 3, where I explore these interactions in more detail charting both pragmatic and more exploratory results in response to the turbines (page 205). These more unusual results are of particular interest as they may suggest a potential within the encounter that could be exploited to function as a form of environmental activism.

3. Is there potential within these encounters through tourism to develop a response to the growing threat of climate change?

Following directly on from question 2, Genre 3 suggested through these more unusual becomings that this potential might exist within the encounter. This line of enquiry emerged from a theoretical exploration in both tourism theory (particularly that of Gaze and Second Gaze) and from contemporary critical theory. In Genre 2, I attempted to combine contemporary ideas from critical theory to tourism theory in order to explore radical potentials within tourism.

These ideas were then tested in Genre 3. Within the encounters it was not possible to directly draw parallels to the unexpected becomings recorded and explicit environmental outcomes – however the goal here was focused on revealing the potential form of an encounter, and not necessarily the content. It is suggested in the next section of this evaluation on how this result may be built on through Grit’s concept of Serendipity to further explore this potential explicitly.

In addition to these more exploratory attempts to respond to this question, the study also found interest from tourists in the development of an attraction based on wind energy in Genre 1, and provided the example of a case study of a successful wind energy attraction in Scotland (pg. 163).

4. How can an approach for analyzing impacts/responses be developed? What are the issues with current methodologies and how can these issues be overcome?

This question is addressed through Genre 2, and through Chapter 2. Within these sections of the work I build on the results of Genre 1 and the theoretical and empirical literature to build a critique of current approaches and a methodology to address these critiques. I posit that in order to avoid reproducing the conditions of distrust (or possibly to even start working to addressing them) we need to utilise a more participant led approach to research. These ideas are discussed on page 134, where I position this approach alongside the growing body of research that has supported for greater public engagement in issues of science and technology. A methodology was then produced that sought to avoid privileging certain forms of knowledge above others, whilst meeting the other requirements of the study (tangible outcomes, reproducibility, clarity, etc).

Recommendations for future research

Within this section I will lead on from the previous reflection on process and contribution and begin to consider options for future research. It is however worth noting that to offer specific recommendations for future study do not directly fit with the goals of the current project. Instead it is hoped that this project is intended to function as a machine that can be modified and adapted by the reader to function for their specific purpose.

In terms of continuing to explore the potential within tourism to function within a programme of radical environmentalism, further research is required. Building on from the foundation that has been provided within the current work, more is required to better understand how creative becomings can be cultivated within the tourism space. Grit (2014) provides a concept of serendipity to describe this cultivation, linking the discovery of the creative becoming to that of an artist searching for inspiration, where a keen eye is required to hunt down the more unexpected and creative opportunities within the space. It would be interesting to consider how tourism spaces can be planned and managed to facilitate these sorts of becomings. In further developing the participant led approach that is advocated in this project, it would be interesting to develop an approach that allows for a greater degree of participant autonomy and expression. The walk that was organised as part of the ESRC festival of social science provided an interesting approach, utilising photography as a tool to allow participants to represent their ideas in the field, and is worthy of a project in its own right (possibly alongside a community art exhibition to extend the creative possibilities to the wider community).

Further research is also required to explore the application of the current approach in other tourist spaces. It would be interesting to explore how/if other tourist spaces allow for creative becomings to emerge and the key features that play a role in making these movements occur. As such instances will reveal opportunities for new ways of enjoyment and self-discovery, of particular interest may be research on voluntourism and how the results from a more

Deleuzian inspired approach would contrast to the Lacanian research of Crossley (2012). The approach within the current study may reveal opportunities for reflection that were overlooked in a more psychoanalytical based methodology, thus revealing an as of yet unknown potential for critical reflection within voluntourism space. Likewise, there is potential in the methods used in this project for application to community-based tourism and a critical reframing of host/guest relationships.

Policy recommendations

Although I am able to make policy recommendations these do not emerge only from the empirical phases of the project, but rather emerge from an understanding gained from extended work on this topic. Despite the attempt of TAN 8 to address public distrust through community engagement these exercises have proven unsuccessful. I would recommend greater emphasis be placed on community engagement so that it features as a core component of environmental planning guidelines and policy rather than as an afterthought to boost public 'buy in'. Engagement exercises also require new frameworks to allow for proper input from the public and for implementation of these ideas. A truly inclusive strategy would not only increase public trust, but could provide planners with additional useful data that may be excluded in a more top down approach. I would recommend those involved in developing these proposals to consult Collins and Evans (Cardiff University) and their work on the study of expertise and experience (see, Collins and Evans, 2002). Their work has been highly influential in the development of my own ideas.

Fundamentally, in order to address public distrust in renewable energy technology and specifically wind energy, alternative funding strategies need to be developed. The renewables obligation has made it more difficult for community owned projects to be established, and the industry has become dominated by multinational developers. This has not helped to address the feelings of powerlessness and exploitation felt by the public, echoed in this study. I would recommend an alternative funding approach be taken allowing for

greater green investment and a greater degree of public ownership that feeds directly into local communities. Proposals such as Green Infrastructure Quantitative Easing or the establishing of a Green National Investment Bank may provide such resources. Such an approach could offer not only allow for the greater investment in renewable technology that is needed, but could allow for more research on more experimental approaches to solving our energy problem (both technologically and sociologically) and the generation of a new green energy economy that could provide new economic prosperity to communities that are dependent on declining industries.

Such proposals appear out of reach at my current viewpoint, but I am only aware of these trajectories due to my own exploration. As I have walked the countryside in Wales, read philosophical texts and theoretical approaches, and spent time in the field researching wind energy, assemblages of bodies have been destroyed and reconstructed opening up new trajectories that appeared previously out of reach. Such opportunities for reflection need not be the privilege of academia, but can be an inherent property of tourism (and the 'tourism' of everyday life). Providing an opportunity for the public to unlock these opportunities is our responsibility if we wish to collectively develop a progressive response to the growing energy crisis.

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